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ESSAY ON ADDISON

by MACAULAY

Edited by A·P Walker

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MACAULAY'S

ESSAY ON ADDISON

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

BY

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BOSTON, U.S.A.

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1902

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PREFACE.

UNLIKE some of Macaulay's earlier productions, the *Essay on Addison* is notably simple in structure and in expression. In it Macaulay allows himself few digressions from the main theme, and he refrains from setting forth brilliant and startling paradoxes in order to exhibit his ingenuity and eloquence in defending them, as he does in the *Essay on Milton*. In studying this essay, therefore, the efforts of the pupil should be directed primarily toward mastering the subject matter; that is, toward acquiring a knowledge of the careers of the most noted men of letters in the Augustan Age of English Literature. With the names of Addison and Steele, Pope and Swift, should be associated in his mind conceptions of the personalities, the social relations, and the characteristic literary productions of these authors; and this result may best be achieved by devoting as much time as possible to reading in class selections from their works, and applying to them Macaulay's critical judgments.

In accordance with the plan pursued in other volumes of the series, the Editor has gathered the historical facts necessary to the elucidation of the text into an introductory sketch, to be studied before the reading of the essay is begun, and has relegated all matters of miscellaneous information to an Explanatory Index at the end of the book, where readers who fail to understand any given allusion of Macaulay may find, not merely *some* facts relative to the matter referred to, but those specific facts which make clear the bearing of the allusion upon Macaulay's main topic. Throughout the text the symbol ° indicates that the word or phrase preceding is to be found in the Explanatory Index.

It has not been thought necessary to repeat in this volume the suggestions for the study of the Essay as a typical literary form which are incorporated in the volume of this series containing the *Essay on Milton*. For such suggestions, and also for a more extended account of English history in the period immediately preceding the Revolution of 1688, the pupil is referred to that volume.

The text employed in this edition is the revised text prepared by Macaulay for the first collected edition of his essays. The original punctuation and capitalization have been carefully retained, and the pupil may with profit be led to institute a comparison between the elaborate and purely formal punctuation in use in England a half-century ago and the rational system now employed, especially in this country.

A. P. W.

BOSTON, May, 1900.

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THE ESSAY ON ADDISON 1

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BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE OF MACAULAY'S LIFE AS RELATED TO HIS PRINCIPAL LITERARY WORK.

1800 He was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, England.
25 Oct. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman, his mother a Quaker. In early childhood he was an insatiable reader. After the year

1812 He began his formal education by attending a private academy.

1818 He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he won distinction for brilliant work in all studies except mathematics. He was associated with the college for more than seven years (Craven University Scholar, 1821; B.A., 1822; Fellow, 1824). (Contributions to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, 1822; *Essay on Milton*, 1825.) Having determined to pursue the profession of law, in

1826 He was called to the bar, but devoted much of his time to literature, as his *Essay on Milton*, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, had gained him instant popularity. To that magazine he contributed regularly for several years. (*Essays on Machiavelli*, 1827; *Dryden*, January, 1828; *History*, May, 1828; *Hallam's History*, September, 1828, etc.)

1830 He entered Parliament as a Whig member for Calne, on the nomination of Lord Lansdowne. He immediately became an ardent advocate of political reforms, and added to his reputation as a writer that of an orator. His literary activity was not diminished by his new duties (*Essays on Bunyan*, December, 1830; *Byron*, June, 1831; *Johnson*, September, 1831; *Mirabeau*, July, 1832; *Walpole*, October, 1833, etc.), while his political services to the cause of

reform won him the suffrages of the city of Leeds in the elections of 1832, and the gratitude of the Whig leaders.

1833 He was made Secretary of the Board of Control. In the same year his speech on a Bill for the Government of India proved his exhaustive acquaintance with the conditions and needs of that country. Accordingly he was appointed a member of the Supreme Council of India and its legal adviser, at a salary of £10,000 a year.

1834 He went to India in this capacity, and devoted his powers to solving administrative problems and to formulating a Code of Laws for India, his literary gifts meanwhile finding but little expression. (*Essays on Mackintosh's History*, 1835; *Bacon*, 1837.) Having saved from his ample income a sum sufficient to relieve him from anxiety for the future, in

1838 He returned to England, and was soon elected to Parliament as a member for Edinburgh.

1839 He became Secretary of War in the ministry of Lord Melbourne. On the accession to power of the Tories in

1841 He became an active member of the Opposition to Peel. He resumed his frequent contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*. (*Essays on Clive*, 1840; *Leigh Hunt, Lord Holland, Hastings*, 1841; *Frederick the Great*, 1842; *Madame D'Arblay, Addison*, 1843, etc.) Meanwhile he tempted fortune in a new line of literary activity (*Lays of Ancient Rome*, 1842), and also prepared the first collected edition of his *Essays* (1843).

1846 He became Paymaster of the Forces in the new Whig ministry of Russell. In the election of the succeeding year, he was rejected by the voters of Edinburgh because of his independent attitude on religious and other questions. This defeat left him free to prosecute the work which he had long designed to make the crowning literary production of his life, the *History of England from the Accession of James I.* (Vols. I. and II., 1848).

1852 He was reëlected Member of Parliament for Edinburgh without any canvass on his own behalf, but resigned his seat four years later, as the completion of his *History* was still

his foremost consideration (Vols. III. and IV., 1855), and his failing health warned him that he must set a limit to his activities. In recognition of his services to the state in so many fields of labor, in

1857 He was elevated to the peerage as "Baron Macaulay of Rothley." Besides his labors upon the *History*, he now found time to contribute to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* a series of biographies of eminent men (*Atterbury*, 1853; *Bunyan*, 1854; *Goldsmith, Johnson*, 1856; *William Pitt*, 1859). His health, although failing, gave no serious cause of alarm until in

1859 He died of disease of the heart, and was buried in the
Dec. 28 "Poet's Corner" in Westminster Abbey, at the foot of the monument to Addison.

MACAULAY'S LITERARY IDEALS, DEDUCED FROM HIS CRITICAL WRITINGS, AND CRITICAL ESTIMATES OF HIS ACHIEVEMENTS.

General Type of Work. — It may be laid down as a general rule . . . that history begins in novel and ends in essay. . . . By judicious selection, rejection, and rearrangement, (the historian) gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction. (Macaulay, *Essay on History.*)

> The historical essay, as he conceived it, was as good as unknown before him. To take a bright period or personage of history, . . . to conceive it at once in article size, and then to fill in this limited canvas with sparkling anecdote, telling bits of color, and facts all fused together, by a real genius for narrative, was the sort of genre painting which Macaulay applied to history. (J. C. Morrison.) Narrative was his peculiar forte. (H. J. Nicoll.)

Restrained Imagination, Truth. — A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque. Yet he must control it so absolutely as to content himself with the materials which he finds, and to refrain from supplying deficiencies by additions of his own. . . . He must possess sufficient self-command to abstain from casting his facts in the mould of his hypothesis. He never advances a false opinion because it is new or splendid, because he can clothe it in a happy phrase, or defend it by an ingenious sophism. (Macaulay, *Essay on History.*)

> He is substantially right in his judgments. (Frederic Harrison.) His intellect, bright and broad as it was, was

the instrument of his individuality. His sympathies and antipathies colored his statements, and he rarely exhibited anything in a dry light. (E. P. Whipple.) Macaulay's hardy and habitual recourse to strenuous superlative is fundamentally unscientific and untrue. (J. Morley). In seeking for paradoxes, Macaulay often stumbles on, but more frequently stumbles over, truth. (G. Gilfillan.)

Proportion. — History has its foreground and its background: and it is principally in the management of its perspective that one artist differs from another. Some events must be represented on a large scale, others diminished; the great majority will be lost in the dimness of the horizon; and a general idea of their joint effect will be given by a few slight touches. (Macaulay, *Essay on History.*)

Each of his Essays is a unit. The results of analysis are diffused through the veins of narration, and details are strictly subordinated to leading conceptions. (E. P. Whipple.) He is not a genuine artist; when he draws a picture he is always thinking of proving something; he inserts dissertations in the most interesting and touching places. (H. A. Taine.)

Clearness. — The first law of writing, that law to which all other laws are subordinate, is this, that the words employed shall be such as convey to the reader the meaning of the writer. . . . The style (of Bunyan) is delightful to every reader. The vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, which would puzzle the rudest peasant. Yet no writer has said more exactly what he meant to say. (Macaulay, *Life of Bunyan.*)

It is largely due to his influence that the best journals and periodicals of our day are written in a style so clear, so direct, so resonant. (Frederic Harrison.) Nobody can have any excuse for not knowing exactly what it is that Macaulay means. (He) never wrote an obscure sentence in his life. (J. Morley.) The wonderful clearness, point, and vigor of his style send his thoughts right into every brain. (W. Bage-

hot.) Nobody ever wrote more clearly than Macaulay. (Leslie Stephen.)

Vigor. — His (Goldsmith's) style was always pure and easy, and, on proper occasions, pointed and energetic. His narratives were always amusing, his descriptions always picturesque. (Macaulay, *Life of Goldsmith.*)

Common historical events he narrates with all the brilliancy of epigram. (W. Bagehot.) By clothing his historical judgments and his critical reflections in these cutting and sonorous periods, he has forced them on the attention of a vast body of readers wherever English is read at all, and on millions who have neither time nor attainments for any regular studies of their own. (Frederic Harrison.)

Condensation. — The style (of Dante) is, if not his highest, perhaps his most peculiar excellence. His words are the fewest and the best which it is possible to use. The first expression in which he clothes his thoughts is always so energetic and comprehensive that amplification would only injure the effect. (Macaulay, *Criticisms on the Principal Italian Writers.*)

He delights to cram tomes of diluted facts into one short, sharp, antithetical sentence, and to condense general principles into epigrams. (E. P. Whipple.)

Structure. — Dryden's arguments are often worthless. But the manner in which they are stated is beyond all praise. The style is transparent. The topics follow each other in the happiest order. The objections are drawn up in such a manner that the whole fire of the reply may be brought to bear upon them. (Macaulay, *Essay on Dryden.*)

Occasionally he uses the long oratorical, climactic period. In every paragraph we are conscious of being led on to a crowning demonstration. He is careful to reserve the most telling for the end, and artfully prepares the way for a final resolution. (Minto.) His Essays are not merely the best of their kind in existence, but they are put together with so

much skill that they are permanent types of a certain species of literary architecture. (Edmund Gosse.)

Ornament. — The illustrations at once adorn and elucidate the reasoning. His powers of brilliant illustration have never been denied, and it would not be easy to name their equal. (J. C. Morrison.)

Use of Detail. — The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. (Macaulay, *Essay on History.*)

He excelled all Englishmen of his time in his knowledge of English history. There was no drudgery he would not endure in order to obtain the most trivial fact which illustrated the opinions or the manners of any particular age, and this information was not a mere assemblage of dead facts. It was vitalized by his passions and imagination. (E. P. Whipple.)

MACAULAY'S JUDGMENT OF HIS OWN WORK.

"The author of these Essays is so sensible of their defects that he has repeatedly refused to let them appear in a form which might seem to indicate that he thought them worthy of a permanent place in English literature; nor would he now give his consent to the republication of pieces so imperfect, if, by withholding his consent, he could make republication impossible. . . . The criticism on Milton, which was written when the author was fresh from college, and which contains scarcely a paragraph such as his matured judgment approves, still remains overloaded with gaudy and ungraceful ornament." — (Preface to the first collected edition of his *Essays*, 1849.)

SKETCH OF ENGLISH HISTORY AFTER 1603.

1. The English Government.

Elizabeth, the last of the Tudor monarchs of England, died in 1603. The fabric of government which she bequeathed to her successors, the Stuart monarchs, was essentially feudal in form. The principle of heredity governed the descent of the crown, and the nation was divided into three social classes, on lines determined by feudal conditions: the nobility (or peerage), the lesser aristocracy (or knighthood), and the commons. Form of government.

The nobility consists of peers created by the sovereign, or the lineal descendants of peers so created. At that time, on raising a commoner to the peerage, the monarch generally bestowed upon him a landed estate from which he might draw a revenue to support his new dignity, and conferred upon him a title either drawn from the estate or commemorating the achievement which had won for him the honor of ennoblement. There were five grades or orders of nobility, baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, — represented in our own study by John Somers, Baron Somers; Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke; Sidney Godolphin, Earl of Godolphin; Thomas Wharton, Marquis of Wharton; and John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Perhaps the most important advantage of nobility lay in the fact that every peer was an hereditary legislator in his own right, having a claim to be summoned by the monarch to every successive national legislative assembly, or "Parliament," where the peers by themselves formed an "upper house." Peers.

The lesser aristocracy consisted of those persons whom the monarch had raised above the rank of commoners by conferring upon them the order of knighthood. In early times, all persons who possessed a certain amount of land were raised to that Knights.

dignity, and only persons of this rank were eligible to represent the several counties in the lower House of Parliament. County representatives were therefore called "Knights of the Shire." In later days the distinction was conferred upon artists, learned men, and public benefactors in any line of activity. In our study, examples are Sir Joshua Reynolds (for distinguished skill in painting); Sir Richard Steele (for political services).

The *legislative* power resided in Parliament, the upper house of which contained all hereditary nobles ("Lords Temporal") and all archbishops and bishops of the national church ("Lords Spiritual"), while the lower house contained representatives from each county ("Knights of the Shire") and from each lesser political unit or borough ("burgesses").

Parliament.

The *executive* work of the government was entrusted by the monarch to officials appointed by him on the ground of their ability, or of their subservience to his wishes, or too often of their personal acceptability alone. Of these officers the following are of especial importance: —

The king's ministers.

1. The Lord High Treasurer, who was generally acknowledged to be the chief officer of the Crown, or Prime Minister.

2. The Secretaries of State, who conducted all foreign negotiations and formulated the general public policy of the State.

3. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who shaped the financial measures of the government.

4. The Lord High Chancellor, who presided over the sessions of the House of Lords.

5. The Lord Chief Justice, who presided over the court of highest jurisdiction in the State.

The Privy Council had been originally a small body of the most eminent nobles, who were summoned by the monarch to give him special advice upon matters of State policy. Included in it were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Treasurer, the two Archbishops of the State Church (see p. xv), the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl Marshal, etc. Thus it contained elements from the departments of Finance, Justice, etc., and a permanent group of high executive officers, mostly appointive, but some (*e.g.* Archbishops)

The Privy Council.

members by virtue of their office. It modified the king's arbitrary power by refusing the seal (see Index) to royal orders of which it disapproved, but as its members were almost all subject to removal from their offices, it presented no insurmountable obstacle to the king's will.

Powers of the Council.

The Privy Council had risen to great importance under the Tudors, first by gaining control of certain territory, and later by assuming the right to issue proclamations, to create courts, and to exercise judicial powers in cases of supreme importance in the State.[1] Thus the Stuart monarchs found in the Privy Council a strong weapon of tyranny when it was subservient to the Crown, and a powerful barrier to tyranny when it was ranged in defence of the established rights of the nation.

The State Church.

Act of Uniformity.

Among the political changes which had been brought about during the reign of the Tudors had been a revolt from the government of the Church of Rome, resulting in the establishment of a new ecclesiastical organization (the Church of England) as a department of the State. Parliament had enacted laws to the effect (1) that the creed of this Church should consist of "thirty-nine articles" (or statements of religious dogma), then first formulated; (2) that its supreme government should reside in the monarch, as chief executive; (3) that its worship should conform to a prescribed ritual, then first composed; (4) that its membership should include all the citizens of the State; and (5) that its property and revenues should be administered through the agency of the State. Adherence to this Church and conformity with its practice had been made universally compulsory.

Rise of "Dissenters."

But this revolt under the Tudors had been merely one expression of a general spirit of independence that prevailed throughout the nation. Many Englishmen still adhered to the authority of the Roman Church, many disagreed with some of the religious theories contained in the Thirty-nine Articles. Thus there arose a large body of disaffected people, who strove in one way or another against the State Church. One body (the Puritans) developed within the pale of the Church, through the action of clergymen who, while accepting in the main the

[1] While thus engaged it was called the Court of High Commission.

results of the recent revolt, wished to "purify" the doctrines of the Church of what they considered to be errors, and to "purify" its worship of many rites and practices inherited from the Roman Catholic régime. These Puritans, the Catholics, and divers other persons of independent views, constituted a body of rebels against the authority of the State in religious matters; thus a group of sects ("Dissenters") appears in England, suffering greatly from the persecutions of State officials, but recruiting their numbers steadily, especially from the ranks of the commoners.

2. The Early Stuart Monarchs, 1603+.

The reign of the Tudors in England having come to an end by the death of Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen," last of the direct line, the succession devolved upon James Stuart (James I. of England), the great-grandson of her father's sister Margaret, who had married the king of Scotland. Thus, between 1603 and 1707, the same monarchs reigned over the kingdoms of England and of Scotland, although the kingdoms were wholly distinct, each being governed according to its own fundamental constitution through its own Parliament.

James I.

Personal union of England and Scotland.

A peculiarity of the early Stuart monarchs of England was their adherence to the doctrine of "the divine right of kings." This doctrine, in brief, was that an hereditary monarchy is a divinely instituted form of government; that a monarch is, therefore, responsible to God alone for the way in which he governs his realm; and that, while he should aim to rule solely for the good of his subjects, they have no right to bid defiance to his edicts or to reject him when his government becomes obnoxious to them.

"Divine right" of kings.

Very early in his reign James showed his arbitrary temper by his determination, in spite of strong popular disapproval, to enforce the Act of Uniformity upon all Puritans and Catholics. To his dogged insistence upon the theory of divine right the second Stuart monarch, Charles I., ultimately sacrificed his life, for he quarrelled continuously with his Parliament in regard to the revenues and expenditures of the nation. And his

Tyranny of the Stuarts.

repeated acts of tyranny finally provoked a civil war, which resulted in the defeat and execution of the king, in January, 1649. There followed eleven years of Puritan rule, in which Oliver Cromwell exerted a dominating influence; but his death was followed by the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of Charles II., son of the former monarch. His reign was marked by a fresh struggle between king and Parliament, for supremacy in the government and for the control of religion within the kingdom, and it was only by making repeated concessions to popular feeling that Charles retained the throne until his death in 1685.

The religious excitement continued unabated during the reign of James II. Indeed, the king's open adherence to Catholicism, and his uncompromising obstinacy, made him more unacceptable to Parliament than his brother had been. In illustration of this may be cited his treatment of Oxford and Cambridge. The Universities (see Index) being the nurseries of the State church (see p. xv), James proceeded to remove the leading officials in the colleges from their positions, and to replace them with Catholics. On the death of the president of Magdalene College, Oxford, the king outraged public sentiment by ordering the Fellows to elect to the presidency a Catholic, Anthony Farmer, a man of notoriously bad character. On their refusal, he created a special commission, which visited the college and expelled all the Fellows (and later all the Demies, or scholars) for their contumacy. As Farmer's unfitness for the presidency had been clearly demonstrated, the commission raised a churchman, the Bishop of Oxford, to the position; but, on his early death, James again appointed a Roman Catholic to the office.

James II. and Magdalene College.

Matters reached a climax in 1688, three years after James's accession to the throne. He attempted by an edict to abrogate laws against Catholicism which had been passed to secure beyond all question the dominance of the Protestant religion. This edict, illegal in itself, was made more obnoxious to the clergy by an order directing them to read it in their several churches on a certain date. Thus they were compelled, as it seemed to them, to share in the overthrow of their own church. Seven of the bishops of the State Church

Revolution of 1688.

"Declaration of Liberty of Conscience."

ventured to petition the king not to enforce his order, and he, in a passion at this questioning of the royal prerogative, threw them into prison. The courts did not sustain him in his tyranny, but public sentiment was so outraged by his act that a group of seven ministers and statesmen determined to put an end to the struggle with the Stuarts by inviting the husband of James's elder daughter (who was Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic) to interfere for the protection of the liberties of England. This man, William, Prince of Orange, landed in the west of England with a military expedition on November 5, 1688, and marched upon London, meeting with only a formal and faint-hearted resistance from the people, who were alienated from James by repeated acts of tyranny. James fled to France, and William, since he could not legally summon a Parliament, issued writs for the election of a "Convention." This body declared that by virtue of recent events "the throne had thereby become vacant"; and by its authority, in February, 1689, the Prince of Orange was crowned as King William III., after having given his formal assent to a statement of the fundamental principles of the English monarchy, presented to him by the Convention under the guidance of the body of ministers who had assumed the direction of affairs. These statesmen were determined not only to endure no longer the tyranny of James Stuart, but also to secure such recognition of the fundamental rights which the Stuarts had persistently denied them as should leave no ground for further dispute with any monarch. The principles enunciated in this statement were afterward incorporated into the series of laws which were enacted by Parliament under the name of the "Bill of Rights." The statement itself, called the "Declaration of Rights," is, next to "Magna Charta," the most important document in English history. The succession to the throne was now fixed by act of Parliament upon James's younger daughter, Anne, and her heirs; these failing, it was to pass to the descendants of his cousin Sophia, who had married the Prince of the German state of Hanover.

Trial of the bishops.

"Declaration of Rights."

Act of Settlement.

3. The Later Stuarts, 1688–1714.

The "Glorious Revolution of 1688" divides the England of Milton from the England of Addison. Before that date English history is primarily concerned with local affairs, — the development of enduring institutions (political and religious) essentially democratic in character, because expressive of the will of the nation. Thereafter its scope widens to include the interests of Europe and of the world at large. A link between these two phases of English history may be perceived in the relation of the middle and later English monarchs to Louis XIV., King of France from 1643 to 1715.

England since 1688.

In all the struggles of the English people to establish satisfactory relations between themselves and their monarch, the influence of Louis had had a large share in shaping the course of events. An extreme absolutist, Louis had given a refuge to the family of Charles I. An ardent Catholic, he had bribed Charles II., after the Restoration, to attempt to restore Catholicism in England, paying him enormous subsidies that enabled him to dismiss his Parliaments at will, and to carry on the government without grants of money from the recalcitrant Commons. An ambitious conqueror, he had bought from Charles the service of English troops in his aggressions upon the Flemish and Dutch states upon his northern boundary, until the astute Stadtholder of Holland, by diplomatic arrangements with other countries, had succeeded in making Charles's position in the matter untenable. In the cause of both religion and absolutism he had supported James in his tyranny, and had received him in his flight and given him the succor due to a king, even sending French troops in his service to Ireland, when the final attempt of James to recover his lost rights ended in disastrous failure at the battle of the Boyne, where his army was defeated by his supplanter, William III.

Louis XIV. and the Stuarts.

Boyne, 1690.

William of Orange was the ablest statesman of his age. While merely Stadtholder of the small republic of Holland, he had concentrated all his energies upon the task of thwarting the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., by forming a defensive union of the states whose interests were threatened by Louis's

William III. and Louis XIV.

aggressions, and he had succeeded in drawing England into this union, for certain specific purposes. Immediately upon his accession to the English throne he threw the nation into the War of the Palatinate, a struggle to thwart Louis's attempts to seize the German states upon the middle Rhine. In this struggle William took the field in person, and was defeated by the French General Luxembourg in the battle of Steenkirk. In this war the faithless Victor Amadeus of Savoy first proved his instability by his desertion of the cause of the allies a year before the end of the war. The struggle proving too exhausting to Louis, he consented to the ratification of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, by the terms of which Louis agreed to relinquish his championship of the claims of the exiled branch of the Stuarts, and to recognize William as the legitimate sovereign of England.

Palatinate War; Steenkirk.

Peace of Ryswick.

Meanwhile the reign of William had witnessed the development of a distinctive form of government in England. The divided sentiment of the nation in regard to the respective rights of the monarch and the people had resulted in the creation of two distinct parties. The Tories, maintaining the doctrine of divine right (see p. xvi), and therefore holding the Revolution to have been indefensible in law, were weak supporters of William's policy, and looked forward with eagerness to the time when circumstances should favor the restoration of the exiled Stuarts. Especially active in Jacobite[1] intrigues were the landed proprietors of the country districts, and the extremists among the clergy (the "High Church party"). On the other hand, the champions of liberty in Church and State, who had risked a traitor's death in summoning William to England, were bound from self-interest to support his policy, and as this coincided with the interests of the commercial classes, the Whig party found its chief support in the cities, and among the members of dissenting sects (see p. xv).

Political parties.

At the beginning of his reign William had followed the traditional custom of the English monarchs in appointing as ministers able statesmen from both parties; but in carrying out his policy

[1] Adherents of the Stuart family after the Revolution were called "Jacobites," as champions of James (Lat. = Jacobus) III.

(which included an attempt to retain within the State Church as many liberal clergymen as possible and an attempt to involve England in his far-reaching plans for thwarting the baneful influence of France in European politics) he was driven to rely more and more upon the support of the Whigs, and thus through the pressure of circumstances party government (*i.e.* government through a ministry acting as a unit in support of a given line of policy) was inaugurated. The first distinctively Whig ministry, formed in 1696, was dominated by the so-called "Junto," consisting of Somers, Montague, Russell, and Wharton. Its measures included a liberal expenditure of money, — the Bank of England being created to furnish loans to the government, — a bill limiting the duration of Parliament to three years, and the triumphant conclusion of the Palatinate War. A Tory reaction set in in 1701, but this was immediately checked by an act of folly on the part of Louis XIV. For when the exiled James II. died in France on September 16, 1701, his son, James Edward, was formally recognized by Louis as legitimate king of England, in violation of the Treaty of Ryswick (see p. xx). The public sentiment of the English people, thus outraged, turned loyally to the support of William and his Whig advisers, but by his death in February, 1702, the task of punishing Louis for his folly and of consummating William's political schemes devolved upon his successor, Queen Anne.

System of government by parties.

Proclamation of James III.

The principal feature of these schemes had been measures intended to prevent the threatened union of the Spanish and French monarchies under the sovereignty of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. of France, and great-grandson of Philip IV. of Spain. Louis had been for years engaged in aggressive wars, endeavoring to secure increase of territory at the expense of his Spanish, Dutch, and German neighbors. At the end of the seventeenth century the king of Spain was childless, and in feeble health, and four states, Austria, France, Bavaria, and Savoy, had some ground for hoping to inherit at least a share of his vast domains. The statesmanlike William of Orange, hoping to forestall a possible European rupture, and especially to avoid the union of the vast territory of France and Spain, had secured a

War of the Spanish Succession.

treaty agreement for the partitioning of the Spanish territory among the several claimants at Charles's death. Through the intrigues of France, however, Charles was induced to bequeath his domains entire to a French prince, Philip of Anjou, and at Charles's death Louis abjured his treaty agreement and announced his intention to support Philip's claims under the will. Thus was precipitated the Spanish Succession War, in which England, Holland, Austria, and Prussia, under the name of the "Grand Alliance," were combined against France, Spain, and some minor German states.

Cause of the war.

By the death of William III. the burden of carrying on the war was laid upon Anne, and she entrusted the conduct of the campaigns to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. This gifted though unscrupulous man, by a most brilliant series of campaigns, carried disaster to the French arms and compelled Louis XIV. to appeal for a cessation of hostilities under the most humiliating conditions. Although these terms were afterward modified in favor of France, yet the English succeeded in their chief object of preventing the union of France and Spain into a single European power, and at the close of the war the dismemberment of the Spanish territories was secured by the provisions of the treaty of peace signed at Utrecht in 1713. By this treaty Philip of Anjou succeeded to the Spanish throne, but renounced for himself and his heirs all claims upon the French crown; possessions of Spain in Italy and the Netherlands were ceded to the other claimants to secure their withdrawal, Sicily passing to the Duke of Savoy, and the territory of Flanders to the Archduke of Austria.

Events of the war.

Results of the war.

The political sympathies of Anne lay wholly on the side of the Tories, but as this party was hostile to the influence of Marlborough and to the Spanish Succession War, she was compelled, during the most of her reign, to rely upon the body of Whig advisers bequeathed to her by William. By 1710, however, a change in public sentiment had become clearly manifest. The opinion had become prevalent that the war was being protracted that Marlborough might retain power and win glory for himself. At the same time the determination of the

The war and political parties.

Whigs to suppress completely the High Church movement ultimately crushed the party, for in 1710 a High Church clergyman, named Dr. Sacheverell, preached, and subsequently published, two sermons in which he proclaimed that the Church was in danger of a betrayal of its principles, interests, and constitution at the hands of the Whig party, inculcated the doctrine of non-resistance to monarchs, and denounced the toleration of Dissenters. Godolphin (the Whig leader), who had been attacked, urged the impeachment of Sacheverell by the House of Commons; the Whigs acquiesced in this course because they saw in the conduct of the case an opportunity to enunciate and defend before the whole country the Whig doctrine that "Resistance to the sovereign is admissible only when he has violated the fundamental law of the country (to the support of which he is pledged by the virtual compact implied in his holding the office), but *is then a duty*." Sacheverell was declared guilty by a vote of sixty-nine to fifty-two, but popular sympathy had rallied about him as a martyr to Whig tyranny. The queen seized the opportunity to place Tories in her ministry, and the next election sustained her government by sending a large Tory majority to the lower House. The Tory leaders, Harley and St. John, triumphant but insecure, now determined to weaken their opponents by a blow at Marlborough. He was charged with dishonesty in the management of war funds, and dismissed from all his offices, although he proved that all his acts could be justified, either by precedent or by the direct sanction of the monarch. At the same time Harley persuaded the queen to create twelve new Tory peers in order to secure a Tory majority in the upper House corresponding to that in the lower.

Sacheverell impeachment, 1710.

The Tory triumph, 1711.

Before the end of the Spanish Succession War the failing health of Anne had foreshadowed her early death, and the Tories under Bolingbroke, Ormonde, and Harcourt, having little to hope from the succession of the Hanoverians (who would owe their throne to Whig legislation, see p. xviii), began a series of intrigues for making void the Act of Settlement, and seating the Pretender, son of James II., upon the English throne. In this scheme Harley evinced but a lukewarm interest, so Bolingbroke,

Jacobite intrigues.

taking advantage of the fact that Harley was a Dissenter, forced a quarrel over a bill intended to place education entirely in the hands of the Church, and forced him out of the Cabinet. Thus the control of affairs seemed to lie wholly in the hands of the Jacobite conspirators, at the time when a sudden illness (which attacked the queen on the day after Harley's fall) made her death hourly expected; but meanwhile the Whigs, under the leadership of General Stanhope, had been not less active than the Tories; and at a critical moment their spokesmen, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, had pressed upon the Council the desirability of inducing Anne to make the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord High Treasurer in Harley's place. As Shrewsbury, although he favored the Hanoverian succession, had acted with the Tories since 1708, the plotters could not protest against his appointment without exposing their scheme. After three days of stupor Anne recovered consciousness, and her last act was to entrust Shrewsbury with the white staff of office. Immediately upon his appointment, Prince George of Hanover was summoned to England, troops were collected to ensure his succession, and thus the schemes of Bolingbroke were thwarted. In the interim the government devolved by law upon a Council of Regency, composed of eighteen peers (almost all of them Whigs who had been appointed by Sophia of Hanover, in accordance with the provisions of the Regency Bill of 1705), and seven great officers of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Keeper, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. This Council carried on the government until the arrival of King George, in September.

Death of Anne, August 1, 1714.

Council of Regency.

4. The Hanoverians, 1715+.

The accession of the Hanoverians brought fresh disaster to the Tories and renewed triumph to their Whig opponents. With the older Whigs of the Revolution, Sunderland, Shrewsbury, and Halifax, were associated some younger men of rising reputation, Townshend being made Secretary of State, and Walpole a little later becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer

Government of George I.

and first Lord of the Treasury (the title of Lord High Treasurer now falling into disuse).

In their anxiety lest the Jacobites should succeed in breaking the insecure hold of the Hanoverians on the English throne, the Whigs passed several measures designed to secure their position in the State as conservers of the new dynasty. Taking advantage of the excitement caused by Jacobite uprisings, they secured the passage of a bill extending the duration of the existing Parliament from three to seven years, in order to avoid the tumults and riots incident to an election in the then excited state of public feelings. Thus the Whig ministry became assured of a long term of power, but internal dissensions in the party soon weakened its strength. A coolness having sprung up between the king and the Prince of Wales, Sunderland championed the cause of the king (especially in regard to his foreign policy), while Townshend and Walpole, inclining to the side of the prince, were forced out of office. It was during this reconstruction of the ministry, that Addison and his friend Craggs entered the ministry as Secretary of State and Secretary of War respectively. Fearing that the prince on his accession would create a large number of peers from among his own supporters, the section of the Whigs now in power introduced a bill by which the crown was prohibited from creating more than six new peerages in addition to the one hundred and seventy-eight then existing. The strength of that section of the Whigs that were in opposition is shown by the fact that under the leadership of Walpole they were enabled to defeat the bill in the House of Commons by a large majority.

"Septennial Bill," 1715.

Addison, Secretary of State.

"Peerage Bill."

The Sunderland Whig ministry was shaken by the collapse of the South Sea Bubble. The seeds of this disaster had been sown by the Tory, Harley, in a scheme for restoring the national credit. Its features in brief were as follows: To a newly chartered "South Sea Company" of merchants were given exclusive privileges of trading between the South Seas and England, on condition that they bought all of the floating debts of the government, fifty million dollars, from its various creditors (and later all the permanent debt amounting to

"South Sea Bubble."

Its inception.

one hundred and fifty milllon dollars), and carried the whole as a loan from the Company to the government at moderate rates of interest. This arrangement was very advantageous to the government, while the certainty of a moderate interest on a permanent investment made it not disadvantageous to the Company, even if the monopoly of trade in the South Seas had not promised to add to this normal source of income speculative profits for the stockholders limited only by the imagination of the speculators. Under this latter incentive the price of shares of the stock rose steadily in value, until in nine years they had become worth three hundred and thirty per cent of their par value: the directors, dazzled by their unexpected success, now used artificial means to advance the price, and in five months more had forced it to one thousand per cent, when they began to dispose of their holdings. A panic ensued; in one month the stock fell to one hundred and seventy five, and in six months the collapse of the scheme was complete, to the ruin of innumerable investors. As Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Stanhope, Secretary of State, Sunderland, the Prime Minister, and Craggs had been involved in the dishonest proceedings of the Company, their reputations were so smirched in the investigation that followed the collapse of the Company that they withdrew from office, leaving Walpole and Townshend in complete control of the Whig party.

Its inflation.

Its collapse.

Using the power of the Lords and the landed Commoners to control elections, and that of the Crown to bribe members with pensions and offices of emolument, Walpole retained his ascendency for many years without serious diminution, but at the cost of the friendship of some of the leading lights of his party, for his jealous temper would brook no possible rival in the ministry. Thus the brilliant Carteret was forced out of the secretaryship in 1723. Pulteney too, a former clerk of Walpole's, was discarded, and revenged himself by lending his aid to Bolingbroke, who was making strenuous efforts to reinstate himself in English politics. In 1727 Pulteney took charge of the opposition periodical, *The Craftsman*, a paper designed to weaken Walpole's influence. In 1730 Townshend, too loyal to join the

Walpole's ascendency.

opposition, was forced into obscurity, and in 1733 Lord Chesterfield was also alienated. This group of leaders, believing themselves to be the true conservers of old Whig principles, adopted the appellation of "Patriots," and vigorously attacked the inordinate power of the Crown in the control of elections, and the consequent dominance of the legislature.

"The Patriots."

This struggle continued throughout the term of Walpole's ministry. The short ministry of the Pelhams followed (1743–1757), and then ensued the era of the Pitts, of Fox, and of Burke, the era when the American and French Revolutions claimed the attention of English statesmen, and local reforms could get no hearing. It was only after the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, that England again turned her attention to the improvement of her own political conditions. In the early phases of this reform movement Macaulay finds a curious parallel with the political conditions in 1704 (*Essay on Addison*, ¶ 50), which may be made clear by a brief sketch of conditions existing in 1826.

Period of foreign interests.

In 1826 Canning was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Tory ministry of Lord Liverpool. This ministry was heir to the Tory policy of the previous twenty years, that of an alliance between England and the leading European powers to check the aggressions of Napoleon Bonaparte. The fruits of this alliance had been as follows: First, the Tory party, under Lords Castlereagh, Eldon, and Westmoreland, had become identified with the policy of coöperation with the greater European powers in dominating the lesser states; secondly, the excessive war expenditures necessitated by this policy had forced upon the Tories a financial policy which included large income and property tax and a protective tariff on agricultural products.

Whigs and Tories in 1826.

Canning and his friends, Robinson, Huskisson, Wellesley, and Palmerston, were moderate Tories, who differed from the extreme Tories (Liverpool, Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Peel) in advocating the policy of holding aloof from entangling alliances with European powers, in advocating a modification of the protective tariff system, and in promoting legislation designed to lessen the disproportionate power of the landed class in the House of Commons, and to secure the admission to Parliament of Protestant

Dissenters. In all these matters they were favoring measures subsequently passed under Whig ministries. Thus, although in 1826 "there was no avowed coalition between them [the Whigs] and the moderate Tories [Canning, etc.], all men saw that such a coalition was inevitable; nay, that it was already half formed."* (See ¶ 50.) Thus, too, "those statesmen saw that it was both for the public interest and for their own interest to adopt a Whig policy. But if the foreign policy of the Whigs were adopted [non-interference in the affairs of other states], it was impossible to abstain from adopting their financial policy" [economy, liberal policy toward dissenters, legislation in the interest of manufactures and commerce]. (See ¶ 49.)

Parallelism with Whigs and Tories of 1704.

In 1828–1829 Lord John Russell secured the repeal of certain laws against Protestant Dissenters and Catholics, and by the Reform Bill of 1832 he also secured a redistribution of the representation for the lower House, which greatly reduced the power of the Crown and of the peers over the House of Commons. In this struggle Macaulay had a share, having entered Parliament in 1830 and espoused the Whig Principles. Thus the names of Milton, Addison, and Macaulay become linked together in our minds by reason of their community of interests as leading Whigs at important epochs. For, although the party name "Whig" did not come into use until 1679, yet the Puritan political principles were fundamentally the same as those which found expression in the Revolution of 1688, and Milton, Addison, and Macaulay stand upon common ground in their championship of the principles of liberty, enlightenment, and progress.

Later Parliamentary reforms.

* "On the Catholic question, on the principles of commerce, on the corn-laws, on the settlement of the currency, on the laws regulating the trade in money, on colonial slavery, on the game laws, which are intimately connected with the moral habits of the people; on all these questions and everything like them, the Government found support from the Whigs, and resistance from their self-denominated friends." — PALMERSTON — Letter on effects of election of 1826.

Chronological Table of the Notable Events referred to in the Essay on Addison.

POLITICAL HISTORY.	LITERARY HISTORY.
1672.	Addison b., May 1. Steele b., March.
1685. Accession of James II.	
1687.	Addison enters Oxford University.
1688. "The Glorious Revolution."	
1689–1697. Palatinate War.	Steele enters Christ Church College, [Oxford.
1690. Battle of the Boyne.	
1693.	Addison becomes Master of Arts.
1694. Expiration of "Censorship."	*The Georgics.* Steele enlists.
1697–8.	Addison elected Fellow of Magdalene.
1699.	Addison's travelling pension granted.
1701. February, **Tories.** Halifax impeached.	
1701. June, *Act of Settlement.*	
1701. September, Louis proclaims James III.	
1701–1713. Spanish Succession War.	
1702. Accession of Anne.	Addison loses his pension.
1703.	Addison returns to England.
1704. Battle of Blenheim.	*The Campaign. Remarks on Italy.*
	Addison Commissioner of Appeal in [Excise.
1705. **Whigs.**	
1706. Battle of Ramillies.	Addison Under-Secretary of State, with Hedges and Sunderland.
1707. Union of England and Scotland.	Addison to Hanover. Steele Gazetteer.
1708. Sunderland dismissed.	Addison loses Under-Secretaryship. M.P. for Malmesbury.
1709. Wharton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.	Addison Secretary for Ireland. *Tatler.*
1710. **Tories.** (Sacheverell.)	Addison leaves Ireland. Steele Commissioner of Stamps.
1711. Marlborough disgraced.	*Spectator*, First series.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.	*Guardian. Cato.*
1714. August, Death of Anne. Interregnum, seven weeks.	Addison Secretary to Lords Justices.
1714. September 18, Accession of George I.	*Spectator*, Second series.
1715. **Whigs.** Impeachment of Bolingbroke and Oxford.	Addison Member of Board of Trade.
1715.	Addison's Quarrel with Pope. *Drummer. Freeholder.*
1716.	Addison's Marriage. Commissioner for Trade and Colonies.
1717.	Addison Secretary of State with Sunderland.
1718.	Addison resigns Secretaryship.
1719.	*The Old Whig.*
1719. June 17.	Addison died of asthma and dropsy.
1720. Collapse of "South Sea Bubble."	
1721–1742. Ascendency of Walpole.	Steele died, 1729.
1743–1754. Ascendency of Pelham (Pitt, Bedford).	
1754–1757. Ascendency of Newcastle (Fox).	
1757–1761. Coalition Ministry (Newcastle, Pitt).	

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DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ADDISON'S WORKS MENTIONED IN THIS ESSAY.

Verses to Mr. Dryden (1693) is a short poem in which Dryden is praised for his successful translations of the works of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, etc., into English verse. Having thus gained the favorable notice of the older poet, Addison paid him the delicate compliment of imitation in publishing, a year later, his own

Translation of the Fourth Georgic (1694), which treats of the culture of bees. In the same year appeared a poetical epistle formally addressed to Henry Sacheverell (Int., p. xxiii), entitled

An Account of the Greatest English Poets. But, as Addison included in the same list with the names of Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, that of Charles Montague, it may be suspected that the epistle was addressed rather to his future patron than to his college mate. The next year he made a bolder appeal for patronage in his

Address to King William (1695), celebrating the monarch's achievements in the struggle then being waged against Louis XIV. The introduction to this poem took the form of a laudatory

Address to Lord Somers, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (Index, "Seals"). Meanwhile, Dryden, who had praised Addison's translation from the *Georgics*, had obtained from him a critical

Essay upon the Georgics, to be used as a preface to his own translation, and Addison was at work upon his own

Translations from Ovid's Metamorphoses, — stories from Books 3 and 4.

During his stay at Magdalen, Addison produced a group of Latin poems, subsequently published in the *Musæ Anglicanæ* (1699), the most important of which was the

Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ Reddita (1697), a poem felicitating King William III. upon his successful negotiation of the peace of Ryswick (Int., p. xx). The others include, besides laudatory addresses to friends, the

Barometri Descriptio, a mere exercise in versifying a description of the construction and uses of the barometer;

Sphæristerium, a similar description of the sports of a bowling-green;

Machinæ Gesticulantes, a lively description of the popular form of entertainment known as a "puppet-show"; and a more important effort, the

Pygmæo-Geranomachia, which elaborates in fanciful vein a theme suggested by Homer's reference to the annual battle between the pygmies and the cranes (*Iliad* III. 3-6). This entire group, consisting for the most part of poems from fifty to a hundred lines in length, is dedicated to Charles Montague.

The first fruits of Addison's foreign tour appeared in the

Letter from Italy (1701), a poetical epistle addressed to Montague (now Lord Halifax), in which he compares the present conditions in Italy and France with those which prevail in England, and extols the latter as the home of Liberty. In Vienna he composed his

Dialogue upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals, a work in which Philander, Cynthus, and Eugemas discuss the service performed by medals in preserving dates, representations of objects, and general historical facts. The most important result of Addison's foreign tour, however, was the

Remarks on Several Parts of Italy. In this he gives expression to the reflections of a man of classic learning and culture, upon visiting scenes with the ancient aspect of which his studies have made him imaginatively familiar. This work was not given to the world until after he had won favor and fame by the publication of

The Campaign (1704), the history of which is told in ¶¶ 50 to 57 of the essay. The poem describes the march of Marlborough from the Netherlands through the valleys of the Rhine and the Neckar, his conjunction with Prince Eugene, and their united victory over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim.

Rosamond (1706) is an opera in three acts, based upon the legend of King Henry II. and the Fair Rosamond, whom he kept immured in the bower at Woodstock, and who is said to have been poisoned by his queen, Eleanor. In the interest of morality, Addison makes Henry repent his sin and Eleanor spare her rival, who retires to a convent; and he makes capital out of contemporary politics by introducing a scene in which the monarch, in prophetic vision, sees Woodstock transformed into the estate of Blenheim as a present to the victorious Duke of Marlborough. For an account of

The Tatler, see ¶¶ 75–89, and List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv, and for an account of

The Examiner, *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*, see ¶¶ 94–104, 118; and also List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

Cato (1713) is a drama in four acts based on the fate of Marcus Porcius Cato in his attempt to defend Utica against Julius Cæsar after the latter's victories over Pompey and Scipio. In the first act is disclosed the conspiracy of Sempronius, who, while pretending to share Cato's hostility to Cæsar, is secretly attempting to induce the garrison of Numidians commanded by Syphax to desert to Cæsar. The second act shows Cato urging the Senate to stand firm in defending Africa from the tyrant (the "perpetual dictator" of Bolingbroke, ¶ 110) who has already crushed the liberties of Rome and Egypt. In the fourth act Sempronius attempts the abduction of Cato's daughter Marcia, but is slain by her lover, a loyal Numidian prince named Juba. The last act deals with the suicide of Cato, consequent upon

his discovery that Cæsar's advance cannot be checked. It opens with Cato's famous soliloquy upon the future life, based upon the arguments in Plato's *Phædo*:—

> "It must be so, Plato, thou reason'st well!
> Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
> This longing after immortality?—"

The Late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff (1713) was a pamphlet in which Addison voiced the criticisms of the Whig mercantile class upon the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, a Tory measure, under the image of a lawsuit between Count Tariff and Goodman Fact. The success of the *Cato* led to the production of another play, the comedy called

The Drummer (1715), enacted at Drury Lane Theatre. The plot of *The Drummer* hinges upon the attempt of a fortune-hunting suitor to play upon the fears of a woman whose husband is supposed to have been killed in battle, and whom he hopes to terrify into marriage. He circulates a rumor that her house is haunted, and then himself plays the part of the ghost by concealing himself in various parts of the house and beating a drum. The scheme is frustrated by the return of her husband and the exposure of the fraud. For accounts of

The Freeholder (1715) and *The Old Whig* (1719), see ¶¶ 129, 157, and List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv. The first part of Addison's unfinished treatise on the

Evidences of the Christian Religion discusses the value of the corroborative evidence of the truth of the Gospels which may be obtained from the works of pagan writers.

To some period late in his life must be attributed Addison's

Lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller, in which the poet draws an elaborate parallel between the work of Phidias (who, beginning with the lesser gods, achieved finally the task of depicting Jove himself) and that of Kneller, who began with a portrait of Charles II. and ended with that of George I., beyond which (says the poet) no higher achievement remained to be undertaken.

LIST OF PERIODICALS, PAMPHLETS, ETC., REFERRED TO IN THE ESSAY ON ADDISON.

A Tale of a Tub	1704	Pamphlet	Swift	To satirize ecclesiastical conditions.
The Battle of the Books				Controversy on "Epistles of Phalaris."
Bickerstaff's Prescriptions	1708	Pamphlet	Swift	To satirize astrological charlatans.
Tatler	1709–1711 (Tri-weekly)	271 numbers	Steele (188) Addison (42) Swift (33)	To present poetry, criticism, history, foreign and domestic news. To champion Tory principles.
Examiner	1710–1711		Addison (5)	In reply to the *Examiner:* to influence elections for Whigs.
Whig Examiner	1710			
Conduct of the Allies	1712	Pamphlet 7 editions	Swift	To win favor for the Peace of Utrecht by showing that the war aided only English allies.
Spectator, 1st series	Mar. 1711–Dec. 1712 (Daily)	555 numbers	Addison (274) Steele (236 ?)	To create a sound public taste, and to foster morality and elegance in polite literature.
Guardian	1713+ (Daily)	175	Steele (82) Addison	To continue work of the *Spectator*. Drifted into political controversy.
Englishman	1714	57	Steele	To discuss politics without restraint.
Spectator, 2d series	1714 (Tri-weekly)	80	Addison	To continue work of the first series.
Crisis	1714	Pamphlet	Steele	To denounce Jacobite intrigues against the Hanoverian succession.
Reader	1714	2	Steele	To continue work of the *Spectator*, etc.
Town Talk	1714–1715	9	Steele	
Freeholder	1715–1716 (Bi-weekly)	55	Addison	To support the ministry of the new (Hanoverian) dynasty, by showing that interests of property and religion were safe only in their hands.
Plebeian	1719	4	Steele	To oppose the bill restricting the creation of peers. (See p. xxv.)
Old Whig	1719	2	Addison	To defend the above-mentioned bill.
Craftsman	1728+		Bolingbroke, Pulteney	To attack Walpole's Whig ministry.
World	1753+	209	Moore, Dodsley	
Connoisseur	1754+	140	Colman, Thornton	Political and social discussion and general comment.
Mirror	1779+	110	Mackenzie	
Lounger	1785+	101	Mackenzie	
Satirist	1808+	14 vols.		A scurrilous partisan publication.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON.*

(*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843.)

1. SOME reviewers are of opinion that a lady who dares to publish a book renounces by that act the franchises appertaining to her sex, and can claim no exemption from the utmost rigour of critical procedure. From that opinion we dissent. We admit, indeed, that in a country which boasts of many female writers, eminently qualified by their talents and acquirements to influence the public mind, it would be of most pernicious consequence that inaccurate history or unsound philosophy should be suffered to pass uncensured, merely because the offender chanced to be a lady. But we conceive that, on such occasions, a critic would do well to imitate the courteous Knight who found himself compelled by duty to keep the lists against Bradamante.° He, we are told, defended successfully the cause of which he was the champion; but before the fight began, exchanged Balisarda for a less deadly sword, of which he carefully blunted the point and edge.

Deference due to sex of an author,

2. Nor are the immunities of sex the only immunities which Miss Aikin° may rightfully plead. Several of her

* *The Life of Joseph Addison.* By Lucy Aikin. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1843.

works, and especially the very pleasing Memoirs of the Reign of James the First, have fully entitled her to the privileges enjoyed by good writers. One of those privileges we hold to be this, that such writers, when, either from the unlucky choice of a subject, or from the indolence too often produced by success, they happen to fail, shall not be subjected to the severe discipline which it is sometimes necessary to inflict upon dunces and impostors, but shall merely be reminded by a gentle touch, like that with which the Laputan flapper roused his dreaming lord,[1] that it is high time to wake.

and to previous good work.

3. Our readers will probably infer from what we have said that Miss Aikin's book has disappointed us. The truth is, that she is not well acquainted with her subject. No person who is not familiar with the political and literary history of England during the reigns of William the Third, of Anne, and of George the First, can possibly write a good life of Addison. Now, we mean no reproach to Miss Aikin, and many will think that we pay her a compliment, when we say that her studies have taken a different direction. She is better acquainted with Shakspeare and Raleigh,° than with Congreve° and Prior°; and is far more at home among the ruffs and peaked beards of Theobald's° than among the Steenkirks° and flowing periwigs which surrounded Queen Anne's tea table at Hampton.° She seems to have written about the Elizabethan age, because she had read much about it; she seems, on the other hand, to have read a little about the age of Addison, because she had determined to write about it. The consequence is that she

Faults of Miss Aikin's work.

[1] Index, "Swift."

has had to describe men and things without having either a correct or a vivid idea of them, and that she has often fallen into errors of a very serious kind. The reputation which Miss Aikin has justly earned stands so high, and the charm of Addison's letters is so great, that a second edition of this work may probably be required. If so, we hope that every paragraph will be revised, and that every date and fact about which there can be the smallest doubt will be carefully verified.

4. To Addison himself we are bound by a sentiment as much like affection as any sentiment can be, which is inspired by one who has been sleeping a hundred and twenty years in Westminster Abbey.° We trust, however, that this feeling will not betray us into that abject idolatry which we have often had occasion to reprehend in others, and which seldom fails to make both the idolater and the idol ridiculous. A man of genius and virtue is but a man. All his powers cannot be equally developed; nor can we expect from him perfect self-knowledge. We need not, therefore, hesitate to admit that Addison has left us some compositions which do not rise above mediocrity, some heroic poems hardly equal to Parnell's,° some criticism as superficial as Dr. Blair's,° and a tragedy not very much better than Dr. Johnson's.° It is praise enough to say of a writer that, in a high department of literature, in which many eminent writers have distinguished themselves, he has had no equal; and this may with strict justice be said of Addison.

Addison:—literary estimate;

5. As a man, he may not have deserved the adoration which he received from those who, bewitched by his fascinating society, and indebted for all the comforts of

life to his generous and delicate friendship, worshipped him nightly, in his favourite temple at Buttons.[1] But, after full inquiry and impartial reflection, we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race. Some blemishes may undoubtedly be detected in his character; but the more carefully it is examined, the more will it appear, to use the phrase of the old anatomists, sound in the noble parts, free from all taint of perfidy, of cowardice, of cruelty, of ingratitude, of envy. Men may easily be named, in whom some particular good disposition has been more conspicuous than in Addison. But the just harmony of qualities, the exact temper between the stern and the humane virtues, the habitual observance of every law, not only of moral rectitude, but of moral grace and dignity, distinguish him from all men who have been tried by equally strong temptations, and about whose conduct we possess equally full information.

personal estimate.

6. His father was the Reverend Lancelot Addison, who, though eclipsed by his more celebrated son, made some figure in the world, and occupies with credit two folio pages in the Biographia Britannica. Lancelot was sent up, as a poor scholar, from Westmoreland to Queen's College, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth, made some progress in learning, became, like most of his fellow-students, a violent Royalist, lampooned the heads of the University,° and was forced to ask pardon on his bended knees. When he had left college, he earned a humble subsistence by reading the liturgy of

Addison's father.

[1] Index, "Clubs."

the fallen Church to the families of those sturdy squires whose manor houses were scattered over the Wild of Sussex. After the Restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the post of chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk.° When Dunkirk was sold to France, he lost his employment. But Tangier had been ceded by Portugal to England as part of the marriage portion of the Infanta° Catharine; and to Tangier Lancelot Addison was sent. A more miserable situation can hardly be conceived. It was difficult to say whether the unfortunate settlers were more tormented by the heats or by the rains, by the soldiers within the wall or by the Moors without it. One advantage the chaplain had. He enjoyed an excellent opportunity of studying the history and manners of Jews and Mahometans; and of this opportunity he appears to have made excellent use. On his return to England, after some years of banishment, he published an interesting volume on the Polity and Religion of Barbary, and another on the Hebrew Customs and the State of Rabbinical Learning. He rose to eminence in his profession, and became one of the royal chaplains, a Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Dean of Lichfield. It is said that he would have been made a bishop after the Revolution, if he had not given offence to the government by strenuously opposing, in the Convocation° of 1689, the liberal policy of William and Tillotson.

7. In 1672, not long after Dr. Addison's return from Tangier, his son Joseph was born. Of Joseph's childhood we know little. He learned his rudiments at schools in his father's neighbourhood, and was then sent to the Charter House.° The anecdotes which

His boyhood.

are popularly related about his boyish tricks do not harmonise very well with what we know of his riper years. There remains a tradition that he was the ringleader in a barring out, and another tradition that he ran away from school and hid himself in a wood, where he fed on berries and slept in a hollow tree, till after a long search he was discovered and brought home. If these stories be true, it would be curious to know by what moral discipline so mutinous and enterprising a lad was transformed into the gentlest and most modest of men.

His early education.

8. We have abundant proof that, whatever Joseph's pranks may have been, he pursued his studies vigorously and successfully. At fifteen he was not only fit for the university, but carried thither a classical taste and a stock of learning which would have done honour to a Master of Arts. He was entered at Queen's College, Oxford; but he had not been many months there, when some of his Latin verses fell by accident into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, Dean of Magdalene College.[1] The young scholar's diction and versification were already such as veteran professors might envy. Dr. Lancaster was desirous to serve a boy of such promise; nor was an opportunity long wanting. The Revolution[2] had just taken place; and nowhere had it been hailed with more delight than at Magdalene College. That great and opulent corporation had been treated by James, and by his Chancellor, with an insolence and injustice which, even in such a Prince and in such a Minister, may justly excite amazement, and which had done more than even the prosecution of the Bishops[3] to alienate the Church

[1] Index, "Universities." [2] Int., p. xvii. [3] *Ib.*, p. xviii.

ADDISON'S WALK, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

of England from the throne. A president, duly elected, had been violently expelled from his dwelling: a Papist had been set over the society by a royal mandate: the Fellows[1] who, in conformity with their oaths, had refused to submit to this usurper, had been driven forth from their quiet cloisters and gardens, to die of want or to live on charity. But the day of redress and retribution speedily came. The intruders were ejected: the venerable House was again inhabited by its old inmates: learning flourished under the rule of the wise and virtuous Hough°; and with learning was united a mild and liberal spirit too often wanting in the princely colleges of Oxford.[1] In consequence of the troubles through which the society had passed, there had been no valid election of new members during the year 1688. In 1689, therefore, there was twice the ordinary number of vacancies; and thus Dr. Lancaster found it easy to procure for his young friend admittance to the advantages of a foundation then generally esteemed the wealthiest in Europe.

9. At Magdalene, Addison resided during ten years. He was, at first, one of those scholars who are called Demies,[1] but was subsequently elected a fellow. His college is still proud of his name: his portrait still hangs in the hall; and strangers are still told that his favourite walk was under the elms which fringe the meadow on the banks of the Cherwell. It is said, and is highly probable, that he was distinguished among his fellow-students by the delicacy of his feelings, by the shyness of his manners, and by the assiduity with which he often prolonged his studies far into the night. It is cer- His college career.

[1] Index, "Universities."

tain that his reputation for ability and learning stood high. Many years later, the ancient doctors of Magdalene continued to talk in their common room of his boyish compositions, and expressed their sorrow that no copy of exercises so remarkable had been preserved.

10. It is proper, however, to remark that Miss Aikin has committed the error, very pardonable in a lady, of over-rating Addison's classical attainments. In one department of learning, indeed, his proficiency was such as it is hardly possible to overrate. His knowledge of the Latin poets, from Lucretius° and Catullus° down to Claudian° and Prudentius,° was singularly exact and profound. He understood them thoroughly, entered into their spirit, and had the finest and most discriminating perception of all their peculiarities of style and melody; nay, he copied their manner with admirable skill, and surpassed, we think, all their British imitators who had preceded him, Buchanan° and Milton° alone excepted. This is high praise; and beyond this we cannot with justice go. It is clear that Addison's serious attention during his residence at the university, was almost entirely concentrated on Latin poetry, and that, if he did not wholly neglect other provinces of ancient literature, he vouchsafed to them only a cursory glance. He does not appear to have attained more than an ordinary acquaintance with the political and moral writers of Rome; nor was his own Latin prose by any means equal to his Latin verse. His knowledge of Greek, though doubtless such as was, in his time, thought respectable at Oxford, was evidently less than that which many lads now carry away every year from Eton and Rugby. A

His classical learning.

minute examination of his works, if we had time to make such an examination, would fully bear out these remarks. We will briefly advert to a few of the facts on which our judgment is grounded.

11. Great praise is due to the Notes which Addison appended to his version of the second and third books of the Metamorphoses.° Yet those notes, while they show him to have been, in his own domain, an accomplished scholar, show also how confined that domain was. They are rich in apposite references to Virgil,° Statius,° and Claudian°; but they contain not a single illustration drawn from the Greek poets. Now, if, in the whole compass of Latin literature, there be a passage which stands in need of illustration drawn from the Greek poets, it is the story of Pentheus in the third book of the Metamorphoses. Ovid was indebted for that story to Euripides° and Theocritus,° both of whom he has sometimes followed minutely. But neither to Euripides nor to Theocritus does Addison make the faintest allusion; and we, therefore, believe that we do not wrong him by supposing that he had little or no knowledge of their works.

(Internal evidences; from poetic references,

12. His travels in Italy, again, abound with classical quotations happily introduced; but scarcely one of those quotations is in prose. He draws more illustrations from Ausonius° and Manilius° than from Cicero.° Even his notions of the political and military affairs of the Romans seem to be derived from poets and poetasters. Spots made memorable by events which have changed the destinies of the world, and which have been worthily recorded by great historians, bring to his

from geographical references,

mind only scraps of some ancient versifier. In the gorge of the Apennines he naturally remembers the hardships which Hannibal's army endured, and proceeds to cite, not the authentic narrative of Polybius,° not the picturesque narrative of Livy,° but the languid hexameters of Silius Italicus.° On the banks of the Rubicon° he never thinks of Plutarch's° lively description, or of the stern conciseness of the Commentaries,° or of those letters to Atticus° which so forcibly express the alternations of hope and fear in a sensitive mind at a great crisis. His only authority for the events of the Civil War is Lucan.°

13. All the best ancient works of art at Rome and Florence are Greek. Addison saw them, however, without recalling one single verse of Pindar,° of Callimachus,° or of the Attic° dramatists; but they brought to his recollection innumerable passages of Horace,° Juvenal,° Statius,° and Ovid.°

from references to works of art,

14. The same may be said of the Treatise on Medals. In that pleasing work we find about three hundred passages extracted with great judgment from the Roman poets; but we do not recollect a single passage taken from any Roman orator or historian; and we are confident that not a line is quoted from any Greek writer. No person, who had derived all his information on the subject of medals from Addison, would suspect that the Greek coins were in historical interest equal, and in beauty of execution far superior to those of Rome.

from references to coins,

15. If it were necessary to find any further proof that Addison's classical knowledge was confined within narrow limits, that proof would be furnished by his Essay on the Evidences of Christianity. The Roman poets throw

little or no light on the literary and historical questions which he is under the necessity of examining in that Essay. He is, therefore, left completely in the dark; and it is melancholy to see how helplessly he gropes his way from blunder to blunder. He assigns, as grounds for his religious belief, stories as absurd as that of the Cock-Lane° ghost, and forgeries as rank as Ireland's° Vortigern, puts faith in the lie about the Thundering Legion,° is convinced that Tiberius moved the senate to admit Jesus among the gods, and pronounces the letter of Abgarus° King of Edessa to be a record of great authority. Nor were these errors the effects of superstition; for to superstition Addison was by no means prone. The truth is that he was writing about what he did not understand.

from references to history

16. Miss Aikin has discovered a letter from which it appears that, while Addison resided at Oxford, he was one of several writers whom the booksellers engaged to make an English version of Herodotus°; and she infers that he must have been a good Greek scholar. We can allow very little weight to this argument, when we consider that his fellow-labourers were to have been Boyle[1] and Blackmore.° Boyle is remembered chiefly as the nominal author of the worst book on Greek history and philology that ever was printed; and this book, bad as it is, Boyle was unable to produce without help. Of Blackmore's attainments in the ancient tongues, it may be sufficient to say that, in his prose, he has confounded an aphorism with an apophthegm, and that when, in his verse, he treats of classical subjects, his habit is to regale his readers with four false quantities to a page.

and from translation.)

[1] Index, "Boyle, Charles."

17. It is probable that the classical acquirements of Addison were of as much service to him as if they had been more extensive. The world generally gives its admiration, not to the man who does what nobody else even attempts to do, but to the man who does best what multitudes do well. Bentley° was so immeasurably superior to all the other scholars of his time that few among them could discover his superiority. But the accomplishment in which Addison excelled his contemporaries was then, as it is now, highly valued and assiduously cultivated at all English seats of learning. Everybody who had been at a public school had written Latin verses; many had written such verses with tolerable success, and were quite able to appreciate, though by no means able to rival, the skill with which Addison imitated Virgil. His lines on the Barometer and the Bowling Green were applauded by hundreds, to whom the Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris[1] was as unintelligible as the hieroglyphics on an obelisk.

Its value.

18. Purity of style, and an easy flow of numbers, are common to all Addison's Latin poems. Our favourite piece is the Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies; for in that piece we discern a gleam of the fancy and humour which many years later enlivened thousands of breakfast tables. Swift° boasted that he was never known to steal a hint; and he certainly owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer. Yet we cannot help suspecting that he borrowed, perhaps unconsciously, one of the happiest touches in his Voyage to Lilliput[2] from Addison's verses. Let our readers judge.

His Latin style.

[1] Index, "Boyle, Charles." [2] Index, "Swift."

19. "The Emperor," says Gulliver,[1] "is taller by about the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders."

About thirty years before Gulliver's Travels appeared, Addison wrote these lines: —

> "Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
> Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
> Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
> Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam."[2]

20. The Latin poems of Addison were greatly and justly admired both at Oxford and Cambridge, before his name had ever been heard by the wits who thronged the coffee-houses round Drury-Lane° theatre.[3] In his twenty-second year, he ventured to appear before the public as a writer of English verse. He addressed some complimentary lines to Dryden,° who, after many triumphs and many reverses, had at length reached a secure and lonely eminence among the literary men of that age. Dryden appears to have been much gratified by the young scholar's praise; and an interchange of civilities and good offices followed. Addison was probably introduced by Dryden to Congreve, and was certainly presented by Congreve° to Charles Montague,[4] who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer,[5] and leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons.

His first English verse.

21. At this time Addison seemed inclined to devote himself to poetry. He published a translation of part of the fourth Georgic,° Lines to King William, and other performances of equal value, that is to

His early heroic verse,

[1] Index, "Swift." [2] Note, p. 113. [3] See Map, p. 125.
[4] Index, "Halifax." [5] Int., p. xiv.

say, of no value at all. But in those days, the public was in the habit of receiving with applause pieces which would now have little chance of obtaining the Newdigate° prize or the Seatonian° prize. And the reason is obvious. The heroic couplet was then the favourite measure. The art of arranging words in that measure, so that the lines may flow smoothly, that the accents may fall correctly, that the rhymes may strike the ear strongly, and that there may be a pause at the end of every distich, is an art as mechanical as that of mending a kettle or shoeing a horse, and may be learned by any human being who has sense enough to learn anything. But, like other mechanical arts, it was gradually improved by means of many experiments and many failures. It was reserved for Pope° to discover the trick, to make himself complete master of it, and to teach it to everybody else. From the time when his Pastorals appeared, heroic versification became matter of rule and compass; and, before long, all artists were on a level. Hundreds of dunces who never blundered on one happy thought or expression were able to write reams of couplets which, as far as euphony was concerned, could not be distinguished from those of Pope himself, and which very clever writers of the reign of Charles the Second, Rochester,° for example, or Marvel,° or Oldham,° would have contemplated with admiring despair.

compared with earlier models,

22. Ben Jonson° was a great man, Hoole° a very small man. But Hoole, coming after Pope, had learned how to manufacture decasyllable verses, and poured them forth by thousands and tens of thousands, all as well turned, as smooth, and as like each other

as the blocks which have passed through Mr. Brunel's° mill in the dockyards at Portsmouth. Ben's heroic couplets resemble blocks rudely hewn out by an unpractised hand with a blunt hatchet. Take as a specimen his translation of a celebrated passage in the Æneid°: —

"This child our parent earth, stirred up with spite
Of all the gods, brought forth, and, as some write,
She was last sister of that giant race
That sought to scale Jove's court, right swift of pace,
And swifter far of wing, a monster vast
And dreadful. Look, how many plumes are placed
On her huge corpse, so many waking eyes
Stick underneath, and, which may stranger rise
In the report, as many tongues she wears."[1]

23. Compare with these jagged misshapen distichs the neat fabric which Hoole's machine produces in unlimited abundance. We take the first lines on which we open in his version of Tasso.° They are neither better nor worse than the rest: — and with later ones.

"O thou, whoe'er thou art, whose steps are led,
By choice of fate, these lonely shores to tread,
No greater wonders east or west can boast
Than yon small island on the pleasing coast.
If e'er thy sight would blissful scenes explore,
The current pass, and seek the further shore."[2]

24. Ever since the time of Pope there has been a glut of lines of this sort, and we are now as little disposed to admire a man for being able to write them, as for being able to write his name. But in the days of William the Third such versification was rare; and a rhymer who had any skill in it passed for a great poet, and with contemporary work.

[1] Note, p. 113. [2] *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xiv, 58.

just as in the dark ages a person who could write his name passed for a great clerk. Accordingly, Duke,° Stepney,° Granville,° Walsh,° and others, whose only title to fame was that they said in tolerable metre what might have been as well said in prose, or what was not worth saying at all, were honoured with marks of distinction which ought to be reserved for genius. With these Addison must have ranked, if he had not earned true and lasting glory by performances which very little resembled his juvenile poems.

Relations with Dryden.

25. Dryden was now busied with Virgil, and obtained from Addison a critical preface to the Georgics. In return for this service, and for other services of the same kind, the veteran poet, in the postscript to the translation of the Æneid, complimented his young friend with great liberality, and indeed with more liberality than sincerity. He affected to be afraid that his own performance would not sustain a comparison with the version of the fourth Georgic, by "the most ingenious Mr. Addison of Oxford." "After his bees," added Dryden, "my latter swarm is scarcely worth the hiving."

Choice of a career. His patron, and his opportunity.

26. The time had now arrived when it was necessary for Addison to choose a calling. Everything seemed to point his course towards the clerical profession. His habits were regular, his opinions orthodox. His college had large ecclesiastical preferment in its gift, and boasts that it has given at least one bishop to almost every see in England. Dr. Lancelot Addison held an honourable place in the Church, and had

set his heart on seeing his son a clergyman. It is clear, from some expressions in the young man's rhymes, that his intention was to take orders. But Charles Montague[1] interfered. Montague had first brought himself into notice by verses, well timed and not contemptibly written, but never, we think, rising above mediocrity. Fortunately for himself and for his country, he early quitted poetry, in which he could never have attained a rank as high as that of Dorset° or Rochester,° and turned his mind to official and parliamentary business. It is written that the ingenious person who undertook to instruct Rasselas,[2] prince of Abyssinia, in the art of flying, ascended an eminence, waved his wings, sprang into the air, and instantly dropped into the lake. But it is added that the wings, which were unable to support him through the sky, bore him up effectually as soon as he was in the water. This is no bad type of the fate of Charles Montague, and of men like him. When he attempted to soar into the regions of poetical invention, he altogether failed; but, as soon as he had descended from that ethereal elevation into a lower and grosser element, his talents instantly raised him above the mass. He became a distinguished financier, debater, courtier, and party leader. He still retained his fondness for the pursuits of his early days; but he showed that fondness not by wearying the public with his own feeble performances, but by discovering and encouraging literary excellence in others. A crowd of wits and poets, who would easily have vanquished him as a competitor, revered him as a judge and a patron. In his plans for the encouragement of learning, he was cordially supported by the ablest

[1] Index, "Halifax." [2] Index, "Johnson," end.

and most virtuous of his colleagues, Lord Chancellor Somers.° Though both these great statesmen had a sincere love of letters, it was not solely from a love of letters that they were desirous to enlist youths of high intellectual qualifications in the public service. The Revolution had altered the whole system of government.[1] Before that event the press had been controlled by censors, and the Parliament had sat only two months in eight years. Now the press was free, and had begun to exercise unprecedented influence on the public mind. Parliament met annually and sat long. The chief power in the State had passed to the House of Commons. At such a conjuncture, it was natural that literary and oratorical talents should rise in value. There was danger that a Government which neglected such talents might be subverted by them. It was, therefore, a profound and enlightened policy which led Montague and Somers to attach such talents to the Whig party, by the strongest ties both of interest and of gratitude.

Illustration from French history.

27. It is remarkable that in a neighbouring country, we have recently seen similar effects follow from similar causes. The revolution of July 1830 established representative government in France. The men of letters instantly rose to the highest importance in the state. At the present moment most of the persons whom we see at the head both of the Administration and of the Opposition, have been Professors, Historians, Journalists, Poets.[2] The influence of the literary class in England, during the generation which followed the Revolution, was great, but by no means so great as it has

[1] Int., pp. xviii, xix, xx, xxi. [2] Note, p. 113.

lately been in France. For, in England, the aristocracy of intellect had to contend with a powerful and deeply rooted aristocracy of a very different kind. France had no Somersets° and Shrewsburies° to keep down her Addisons and Priors.°

28. It was in the year 1699, when Addison had just completed his twenty-seventh year, that the course of his life was finally determined. Both the great chiefs of the Ministry were kindly disposed towards him. In political opinions he already was what he continued to be through life, a firm though a moderate Whig. He had addressed the most polished and vigorous of his early English lines to Somers, and had dedicated to Montague a Latin poem, truly Virgilian, both in style and rhythm, on the peace of Ryswick.[1] The wish of the young poet's great friends was, it should seem, to employ him in the service of the crown abroad. But an intimate knowledge of the French language was a qualification indispensable to a diplomatist; and this qualification Addison had not acquired. It was, therefore, thought desirable that he should pass some time on the Continent in preparing himself for official employment. His own means were not such as would enable him to travel: but a pension of three hundred pounds a year was procured for him by the interest of the Lord Chancellor. It seems to have been apprehended that some difficulty might be started by the rulers of Magdalene College. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote in the strongest terms to Hough. The State — such was the purport of Montague's letter — could not, at that time, spare to the Church such a

His enlistment in the Whig cause.

[1] Int., p. xx.

man as Addison. Too many high civil posts were already occupied by adventurers, who, destitute of every liberal art and sentiment, at once pillaged and disgraced the country which they pretended to serve. It had become necessary to recruit for the public service from a very different class, from that class of which Addison was the representative. The close of the Minister's letter was remarkable. "I am called," he said, "an enemy of the Church. But I will never do it any other injury than keeping Mr. Addison out of it."

29. This interference was successful; and, in the summer of 1699, Addison, made a rich man by his pension, and still retaining his fellowship, quitted his beloved Oxford, and set out on his travels. He crossed from Dover to Calais, proceeded to Paris, and was received there with great kindness and politeness by a kinsman of his friend Montague, Charles Earl of Manchester, who had just been appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. The Countess, a Whig and a toast, was probably as gracious as her lord; for Addison long retained an agreeable recollection of the impression which she at this time made on him, and, in some lively lines written on the glasses of the Kit Cat Club,[1] described the envy which her cheeks, glowing with the genuine bloom of England, had excited among the painted beauties of Versailles.°

Departure for Europe.

30. Lewis the Fourteenth was at this time expiating the vices of his youth by a devotion which had no root in reason, and bore no fruit of charity. The servile literature of France had changed its character

Experiences at Blois.

[1] Index, "Clubs."

to suit the changed character of the prince. No book appeared that had not an air of sanctity. Racine,° who was just dead, had passed the close of his life in writing sacred dramas; and Dacier was seeking for the Athanasian° mysteries in Plato.° Addison described this state of things in a short but lively and graceful letter to Montague. Another letter, written about the same time to the Lord Chancellor, conveyed the strongest assurances of gratitude and attachment. "The only return I can make to your Lordship," said Addison, "will be to apply myself entirely to my business." With this view he quitted Paris and repaired to Blois,° a place where it was supposed that the French language was spoken in its highest purity, and where not a single Englishman could be found. Here he passed some months pleasantly and profitably. Of his way of life at Blois, one of his associates, an Abbé named Philippeaux, gave an account to Joseph Spence.° If this account is to be trusted, Addison studied much, mused much, talked little, had fits of absence, and either had no love affairs, or was too discreet to confide them to the Abbé. A man who, even when surrounded by fellow-countrymen and fellow-students, had always been remarkably shy and silent, was not likely to be loquacious in a foreign tongue, and among foreign companions. But it is clear from Addison's letters, some of which were long after published in the Guardian,[1] that, while he appeared to be absorbed in his own meditations, he was really observing French society with that keen and sly, yet not ill-natured side glance, which was peculiarly his own.

[1] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

31. From Blois he returned to Paris ; and, having now mastered the French language, found great pleasure in the society of French philosophers and poets. He gave an account, in a letter to Bishop Hough,° of two highly interesting conversations, one with Malbranche,° the other with Boileau.° Malbranche expressed great partiality for the English, and extolled the genius of Newton,° but shook his head when Hobbes° was mentioned, and was indeed so unjust as to call the author of the Leviathan a poor silly creature. Addison's modesty restrained him from fully relating, in his letter, the circumstances of his introduction to Boileau. Boileau, having survived the friends and rivals of his youth, old, deaf, and melancholy, lived in retirement, seldom went either to Court or to the Academy,° and was almost inaccessible to strangers. Of the English and of English literature he knew nothing. He had hardly heard the name of Dryden. Some of our countrymen, in the warmth of their patriotism, have asserted that this ignorance must have been affected. We own that we see no ground for such a supposition. English literature was to the French of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth what German literature was to our own grandfathers. Very few, we suspect, of the accomplished men who, sixty or seventy years ago, used to dine in Leicester Square° with Sir Joshua,[1] or at Streatham° with Mrs. Thrale,° had the slightest notion that Wieland° was one of the first wits and poets, and Lessing,° beyond all dispute, the first critic in Europe. Boileau knew just as little about the Paradise Lost and about Absalom° and Ahitophel ; but he had read Addi-

Intercourse with Boileau.

[1] Index, "Reynolds."

son's Latin poems, and admired them greatly. They had given him, he said, quite a new notion of the state of learning and taste among the English. Johnson° will have it that these praises were insincere. "Nothing," says he, "is better known of Boileau than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin; and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect of his civility rather than approbation." Now, nothing is better known of Boileau than that he was singularly sparing of compliments. We do not remember that either friendship or fear ever induced him to bestow praise on any composition which he did not approve. On literary questions, his caustic, disdainful, and self-confident spirit rebelled against that authority to which everything else in France bowed down. He had the spirit to tell Lewis the Fourteenth firmly and even rudely, that his Majesty knew nothing about poetry, and admired verses which were detestable. What was there in Addison's position that could induce the satirist, whose stern and fastidious temper had been the dread of two generations, to turn sycophant for the first and last time? Nor was Boileau's contempt of modern Latin either injudicious or peevish. He thought, indeed, that no poem of the first order would ever be written in a dead language. And did he think amiss? Has not the experience of centuries confirmed his opinion? Boileau also thought it probable that, in the best modern Latin, a writer of the Augustan age would have detected ludicrous improprieties. And who can think otherwise? What modern scholar can honestly declare that he sees the smallest impurity in the style of Livy°? Yet is it not certain that, in the style of

Livy, Pollio,° whose taste had been formed on the banks of the Tiber, detected the inelegant idiom of the Po? Has any modern scholar understood Latin better than Frederic the Great° understood French? Yet is it not notorious that Frederic the Great, after reading, speaking, writing French, and nothing but French, during more than half a century, after unlearning his mother tongue in order to learn French, after living familiarly during many years with French associates, could not, to the last, compose in French, without imminent risk of committing some mistake which would have moved a smile in the literary circles of Paris? Do we believe that Erasmus° and Fracastorius° wrote Latin as well as Dr. Robertson° and Sir Walter Scott° wrote English? And are there not in the Dissertation on India, the last of Dr. Robertson's works, in Waverley, in Marmion, Scotticisms at which a London apprentice would laugh? But does it follow, because we think thus, that we can find nothing to admire in the noble alcaics of Gray,° or in the playful elegiacs of Vincent Bourne°? Surely not. Nor was Boileau so ignorant or tasteless as to be incapable of appreciating good modern Latin. In the very letter to which Johnson alludes, Boileau says, "Ne croyez pas pourtant que je veuille par là blâmer les vers Latins que vous m'avez envoyés d'un de vos illustres académiciens. Je les ai trouvés fort beaux, et dignes de Vida° et de Sanazar,° mais non pas d'Horace° et de Virgile.°" Several poems, in modern Latin, have been praised by Boileau quite as liberally as it was his habit to praise anything. He says, for example, of the Père Fraguier's° epigrams, that Catullus° seems to have come to life again. But

the best proof that Boileau did not fee. the undiscerning contempt for modern Latin verses which has been imputed to him, is, that he wrote and published Latin verses in several metres. Indeed it happens, curiously enough, that the most severe censure ever pronounced by him on modern Latin is conveyed in Latin hexameters. We allude to the fragment which begins —

> "Quid numeris iterum me balbutire Latinis,
> Longe Alpes citra natum de patre Sicambro,
> Musa, jubes?"[1]

32. For these reasons we feel assured that the praise which Boileau bestowed on the *Machinæ Gesticulantes*[2] and the *Gerano-Pygmæomachia*,[2] was sincere. He certainly opened himself to Addison with a freedom which was a sure indication of esteem. Literature was the chief subject of conversation. The old man talked on his favourite theme much and well, indeed, as his young hearer thought, incomparably well. Boileau had undoubtedly some of the qualities of a great critic. He wanted imagination; but he had strong sense. His literary code was formed on narrow principles; but in applying it, he showed great judgment and penetration. In mere style, abstracted from the ideas of which style is the garb, his taste was excellent. He was well acquainted with the great Greek writers; and, though unable fully to appreciate their creative genius, admired the majestic simplicity of their manner, and had learned from them to despise bombast and tinsel. It is easy, we think, to discover, in the Spectator[3] and the Guardian,[3] traces of

Validity of Boileau's criticism.

[1] Note, p. 113. [2] See List of Addison's Works, p. xxxi.
[3] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

the influence, in part salutary and in part pernicious, which the mind of Boileau had on the mind of Addison.

33. While Addison was at Paris, an event took place which made that capital a disagreeable residence for an Englishman and a Whig. Charles, second of the name, King of Spain, died, and bequeathed his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a younger son of the Dauphin. The King of France, in direct violation of his engagements both with Great Britain and with the States General, accepted the bequest on behalf of his grandson. The House of Bourbon was at the summit of human grandeur. England had been outwitted, and found herself in a situation at once degrading and perilous.[1] The people of France, not presaging the calamities by which they were destined to expiate the perfidy of their sovereign, went mad with pride and delight. Every man looked as if a great estate had just been left him. "The French conversation," said Addison, "begins to grow insupportable; that which was before the vainest nation in the world is now worse than ever." Sick of the arrogant exultation of the Parisians, and probably foreseeing that the peace between France and England could not be of long duration, he set off for Italy.

French political conditions in 1700.

34. In December, 1700,* he embarked at Marseilles. As he glided along the Ligurian° coast, he was delighted

[1] Int., pp. xxi–xxiii.

* It is strange that Addison should, in the first line of his travels, have misdated his departure from Marseilles by a whole year, and still more strange that this slip of the pen, which throws the whole narrative into inextricable confusion, should have been repeated in a succession of editions, and never detected by Tickell or by Hurd.

— *Macaulay.*

by the sight of myrtles and olive trees, which retained their verdure under the winter solstice. Soon, however, he encountered one of the black storms of the Mediterranean. The captain of the ship gave up all for lost, and confessed himself to a capuchin° who happened to be on board. The English heretic, in the meantime, fortified himself against the terrors of death with devotions of a very different kind. How strong an impression this perilous voyage made on him, appears from the ode, "How are thy servants blest, O Lord!"[1] which was long after published in the Spectator. After some days of discomfort and danger, Addison was glad to land at Savona, and to make his way, over mountains where no road had yet been hewn out by art, to the city of Genoa.

Voyage along the coast of Italy.

35. At Genoa,° still ruled by her own Doge, and by the nobles whose names were inscribed on her Book of Gold, Addison made a short stay. He admired the narrow streets overhung by long lines of towering palaces, the walls rich with frescoes, the gorgeous temple of the Annunciation, and the tapestries whereon were recorded the long glories of the House of Doria.° Thence he hastened to Milan,° where he contemplated the Gothic magnificence of the cathedral with more wonder than pleasure. He passed Lake Benacus° while a gale was blowing, and saw the waves raging as they raged when Virgil looked upon them.[2] At Venice, then the gayest spot in Europe, the traveller spent the Carnival,° the gayest season of the year, in the midst of masques, dances, and serenades. Here he was at once diverted

Genoa and Venice;

[1] Note, p. 113+.

[2] *Georgics*, ii, 160.

and provoked, by the absurd dramatic pieces which then disgraced the Italian stage. To one of those pieces, however, he was indebted for a valuable hint. He was present when a ridiculous play on the death of Cato was performed. Cato, it seems, was in love with a daughter of Scipio. The lady had given her heart to Cæsar. The rejected lover determined to destroy himself. He appeared seated in his library, a dagger in his hand, a Plutarch° and a Tasso° before him; and, in this position, he pronounced a soliloquy before he struck the blow. We are surprised that so remarkable a circumstance as this should have escaped the notice of all Addison's biographers. There cannot, we conceive, be the smallest doubt that this scene, in spite of its absurdities and anachronisms, struck the traveller's imagination, and suggested to him the thought of bringing Cato on the English stage. It is well known that about this time he began his tragedy, and that he finished the first four acts before he returned to England.

San Marino;

36. On his way from Venice to Rome, he was drawn some miles out of the beaten road by a wish to see the smallest independent state in Europe.[1] On a rock where the snow still lay, though the Italian spring was now far advanced, was perched the little fortress of San Marino. The roads which led to the secluded town were so bad that few travellers had ever visited it, and none had ever published an account of it. Addison could not suppress a good-natured smile at the simple manners and institutions of this singular community. But he observed, with the exultation of a Whig, that the rude mountain

[1] Note, p. 115.

tract which formed the territory of the republic swarmed with an honest, healthy, and contented peasantry, while the rich plain which surrounded the metropolis of civil and spiritual tyranny was scarcely less desolate than the uncleared wilds of America.

37. At Rome Addison remained on his first visit only long enough to catch a glimpse of St. Peter's° and of the Pantheon.° His haste is the more extraordinary because the Holy Week° was close at hand. He has given no hint which can enable us to pronounce why he chose to fly from a spectacle which every year allures from distant regions persons of far less taste and sensibility than his. Possibly, travelling, as he did, at the charge of a Government distinguished by its enmity to the Church of Rome, he may have thought that it would be imprudent in him to assist at the most magnificent rite of that Church. Many eyes would be upon him; and he might find it difficult to behave in such a manner as to give offence neither to his patrons in England, nor to those among whom he resided. Whatever his motives may have been, he turned his back on the most august and affecting ceremony which is known among men, and posted along the Appian° way to Naples.

Rome;

38. Naples was then destitute of what are now, perhaps, its chief attractions. The lovely bay and the awful mountain were indeed there. But a farmhouse stood on the theatre of Herculaneum,° and rows of vines grew over the streets of Pompeii.° The temples of Pæstum° had not indeed been hidden from the eye of man by any great convulsion of nature; but, strange to say, their existence was a secret even to artists and

Naples;

antiquaries. Though situated within a few hours' journey of a great capital, where Salvator° had not long before painted, and where Vico° was then lecturing, those noble remains were as little known to Europe as the ruined cities overgrown by the forests of Yucatan.° What was to be seen at Naples, Addison saw. He climbed Vesuvius, explored the tunnel of Posilipo,° and wandered among the vines and almond trees of Capreæ.° But neither the wonders of nature, nor those of art, could so occupy his attention as to prevent him from noticing, though cursorily, the abuses of the government and the misery of the people. The great kingdom which had just descended to Philip the Fifth,[1] was in a state of paralytic dotage. Even Castile and Aragon were sunk in wretchedness. Yet, compared with the Italian dependencies of the Spanish crown, Castile and Aragon might be called prosperous. It is clear that all the observations which Addison made in Italy tended to confirm him in the political opinions which he had adopted at home. To the last, he always spoke of foreign travel as the best cure for Jacobitism.[2] In his Freeholder,[3] the Tory foxhunter asks what travelling is good for, except to teach a man to jabber French, and to talk against passive obedience.

39. From Naples, Addison returned to Rome by sea, along the coast which his favourite Virgil had celebrated.

second visit to Rome;

The felucca passed the headland where the oar and trumpet were placed by the Trojan adventurers on the tomb of Misenus,° and anchored at night under the shelter of the fabled promontory of

[1] Int., p. xxii, top. [2] *Ib.*, p. xx, footnote. [3] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

Circe.° The voyage ended in the Tiber, still overhung with dark verdure, and still turbid with yellow sand, as when it met the eyes of Æneas. From the ruined port of Ostia, the stranger hurried to Rome; and at Rome he remained during those hot and sickly months, when, even in the Augustan age, all who could make their escape fled from mad dogs and from streets black with funerals, to gather the first figs of the season in the country. It is probable that, when he, long after, poured forth in verse his gratitude to the Providence which had enabled him to breathe unhurt in tainted air, he was thinking of the August and September which he passed at Rome.

40. It was not till the latter end of October that he tore himself away from the masterpieces of ancient and modern art which are collected in the city so long the mistress of the world. He then journeyed northward, passed through Sienna, and for a moment forgot his prejudices in favour of classic architecture as he looked on the magnificent cathedral. At Florence he spent some days with the Duke of Shrewsbury,° who, cloyed with the pleasures of ambition, and impatient of its pains, fearing both parties, and loving neither, had determined to hide in an Italian retreat talents and accomplishments which, if they had been united with fixed principles and civil courage, might have made him the foremost man of his age.[1] These days, we are told, passed pleasantly; and we can easily believe it. For Addison was a delightful companion when he was at his ease; and the Duke, though he seldom forgot that he was a Talbot,° had the invaluable art of putting at ease all who came near him.

Florence. the Alps.

[1] See Int., p. xxiv, for his services in the crisis at Anne's death.

41. Addison gave some time to Florence, and especially to the sculptures in the Museum,[1] which he preferred even to those of the Vatican.° He then pursued his journey through a country in which the ravages of the last war were still discernible, and in which all men were looking forward with dread to a still fiercer conflict. Eugene° had already descended from the Rhætian° Alps, to dispute with Catinat° the rich plain of Lombardy. The faithless ruler of Savoy° was still reckoned among the allies of Lewis.[2] England had not yet actually declared war against France; but Manchester° had left Paris; and the negotiations which produced the Grand Alliance[3] against the House of Bourbon were in progress. Under such circumstances, it was desirable for an English traveller to reach neutral ground without delay. Addison resolved to cross Mont Cenis.° It was December; and the road was very different from that which now reminds the stranger of the power and genius of Napoleon. The winter, however, was mild; and the passage was, for those times, easy. To this journey Addison alluded when, in the ode which we have already quoted, he said that for him the Divine goodness had warmed the hoary Alpine hills.

Impending political changes.

42. It was in the midst of the eternal snow that he composed his Epistle to his friend Montague, now Lord Halifax.° That Epistle, once widely renowned, is now known only to curious readers, and will hardly be considered by those to whom it is known as in any perceptible degree heightening Addison's fame. It is, however, decidedly superior to any English composi-

The *Epistle to Montague;*

[1] Note, p. 115. [2] Index, "Victor Amadeus II." [3] Int., p. xxii, top.

tion which he had previously published. Nay, we think it quite as good as any poem in heroic metre which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the publication of the Essay on Criticism.[1] It contains passages as good as the second-rate passages of Pope,° and would have added to the reputation of Parnell° or Prior.°

43. But, whatever be the literary merits or defects of the Epistle, it undoubtedly does honour to the principles and spirit of the author. Halifax had now nothing to give. He had fallen from power, had been held up to obloquy, had been impeached by the House of Commons, and, though his Peers had dismissed the impeachment, had, as it seemed, little chance of ever again filling high office. The Epistle, written at such a time, is one among many proofs that there was no mixture of cowardice or meanness in the suavity and moderation which distinguished Addison from all the other public men of those stormy times. *its significance.*

44. At Geneva, the traveller learned that a partial change of ministry had taken place in England, and that the Earl of Manchester had become Secretary of State. Manchester exerted himself to serve his young friend. It was thought advisable that an English agent should be near the person of Eugene° in Italy; and Addison, whose diplomatic education was now finished, was the man selected. He was preparing to enter on his honourable functions, when all his prospects were for a time darkened by the death of William the Third. *Change of prospects,*

45. Anne had long felt a strong aversion, personal,

[1] Note, p. 115.

political, and religious, to the Whig party. That aversion appeared in the first measures of her reign. Manchester was deprived of the seals,° after he had held them only a few weeks. Neither Somers nor Halifax was sworn of the Privy Council.[1] Addison shared the fate of his three patrons. His hopes of employment in the public service were at an end; his pension was stopped; and it was necessary for him to support himself by his own exertions. He became tutor to a young English traveller, and appears to have rambled with his pupil over a great part of Switzerland and Germany. At this time he wrote his pleasing treatise on Medals.[2] It was not published till after his death; but several distinguished scholars saw the manuscript, and gave just praise to the grace of the style, and to the learning and ingenuity evinced by the quotations.

and the cause of the change.

46. From Germany Addison repaired to Holland, where he learned the melancholy news of his father's death. After passing some months in the United Provinces, he returned about the close of the year 1703 to England. He was there cordially received by his friends, and introduced by them into the Kit Cat Club,[3] a society in which were collected all the various talents and accomplishments which then gave lustre to the Whig party.

Return to England.

47. Addison was, during some months after his return from the Continent, hard pressed by pecuniary difficulties. But it was soon in the power of his noble patrons to serve him effectually. A political change, silent and

[1] Int., p. xiv.

[2] See List of Addison's Works, p. xxxii.

[3] Index, "Clubs."

gradual, but of the highest importance, was in daily progress. The accession of Anne had been hailed by the Tories with transports of joy and hope; and for a time it seemed that the Whigs had fallen never to rise again. The throne was surrounded by men supposed to be attached to the prerogative and to the Church; and among these none stood so high in the favour of the Sovereign as the Lord Treasurer Godolphin° and the Captain General Marlborough.°

Apparently gloomy outlook,

48. The country gentlemen and country clergymen had fully expected that the policy of these ministers would be directly opposed to that which had been almost constantly followed by William; that the landed interest would be favoured at the expense of trade; that no addition would be made to the funded debt; that the privileges conceded to Dissenters by the late King would be curtailed, if not withdrawn; that the war with France, if there must be such a war, would, on our part, be almost entirely naval; and that the Government would avoid close connections with foreign powers, and, above all, with Holland.

except for the Tories.

49. But the country gentlemen and country clergymen were fated to be deceived, not for the last time. The prejudices and passions which raged without control in vicarages, in cathedral closes, and in the manor-houses of foxhunting squires, were not shared by the chiefs of the ministry. Those statesmen saw that it was both for the public interest, and for their own interest, to adopt a Whig policy, at least as respected the alliances of the country and the conduct of the war. But, if the foreign policy of the Whigs were adopted, it

The real situation favorable to the Whigs.

was impossible to abstain from adopting also their financial policy. The natural consequences followed. The rigid Tories were alienated from the Government. The votes of the Whigs became necessary to it. The votes of the Whigs could be secured only by further concessions; and further concessions the Queen was induced to make.

50. At the beginning of the year 1704, the state of parties bore a close analogy to the state of parties in 1826.

State of parties in 1704 and in 1826.

In 1826, as in 1704, there was a Tory ministry divided into two hostile sections. The position of Mr. Canning and his friends in 1826 corresponded to that which Marlborough° and Godolphin° occupied in 1704. Nottingham° and Jersey° were, in 1704, what Lord Eldon° and Lord Westmoreland° were in 1826. The Whigs of 1704 were in a situation resembling that in which the Whigs of 1826 stood. In 1704, Somers,° Halifax,° Sunderland,° Cowper,° were not in office. There was no avowed coalition between them and the moderate Tories. It is probable that no direct communication tending to such a coalition had yet taken place; yet all men saw that such a coalition was inevitable, nay, that it was already half formed.[1] Such, or nearly such, was the state of things when tidings arrived of the great battle fought at Blenheim° on the 13th August, 1704. By the Whigs the news was hailed with transports of joy and pride. No fault, no cause of quarrel, could be remembered by them against the commander whose genius had, in one day, changed the face of Europe, saved the Imperial throne, humbled the House of Bourbon,° and

[1] For full explanation of ¶¶ 49, 50, see Int., pp. xxvii, xxviii.

secured the Act of Settlement[1] against foreign hostility. The feeling of the Tories was very different. They could not indeed, without imprudence, openly express regret at an event so glorious to their country; but their congratulations were so cold and sullen as to give deep disgust to the victorious general and his friends.

51. Godolphin was not a reading man. Whatever time he could spare from business he was in the habit of spending at Newmarket° or at the card table. But he was not absolutely indifferent to poetry; and he was too intelligent an observer not to perceive that literature was a formidable engine of political warfare, and that the great Whig leaders had strengthened their party, and raised their character, by extending a liberal and judicious patronage to good writers. He was mortified, and not without reason, by the exceeding badness of the poems which appeared in honour of the battle of Blenheim. One of those poems has been rescued from oblivion by the exquisite absurdity of three lines.

Whig need of a literary champion.

> "Think of two thousand gentlemen at least,
> And each man mounted on his capering beast;
> Into the Danube they were pushed by shoals."

52. Where to procure better verses the Treasurer did not know. He understood how to negotiate a loan, or remit a subsidy: he was also well versed in the history of running horses and fighting cocks; but his acquaintance among the poets was very small. He consulted Halifax°; but Halifax affected to decline the office of adviser. He had, he said, done his best, when he had power, to encourage men whose abilities and

The selection of Addison.

[1] Note, p. 115, and Int., p. xviii.

acquirements might do honour to their country. Those times were over. Other maxims had prevailed. Merit was suffered to pine in obscurity; and the public money was squandered on the undeserving. "I do know," he added, "a gentleman who would celebrate the battle in a manner worthy of the subject; but I will not name him." Godolphin, who was expert at the soft answer which turneth away wrath, and who was under the necessity of paying court to the Whigs, gently replied that there was too much ground for Halifax's complaints, but that what was amiss should in time be rectified, and that in the meantime the services of a man such as Halifax had described should be liberally rewarded. Halifax then mentioned Addison, but, mindful of the dignity as well as of the pecuniary interest of his friend, insisted that the Minister should apply in the most courteous manner to Addison himself; and this Godolphin promised to do.

53. Addison then occupied a garret up three pair of stairs, over a small shop in the Haymarket.° In this humble lodging he was surprised, on the morning which followed the conversation between Godolphin and Halifax, by a visit from no less a person than the Right Honourable Henry Boyle,° then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Lord Carleton. This high-born minister had been sent by the Lord Treasurer as ambassador to the needy poet. Addison readily undertook the proposed task, a task which, to so good a Whig, was probably a pleasure. When the poem was little more than half finished, he showed it to Godolphin, who was delighted with it, and particularly with the famous simili-

Addison's response, and his reward.

tude of the Angel.[1] Addison was instantly appointed to a Commissionership worth about two hundred pounds a year, and was assured that this appointment was only an earnest of greater favours.

54. The Campaign[2] came forth, and was as much admired by the public as by the Minister. It pleases us less on the whole than the Epistle to Halifax.[2] Yet it undoubtedly ranks high among the poems which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the dawn of Pope's genius. The chief merit of the Campaign, we think, is that which was noticed by Johnson, the manly and rational rejection of fiction. The first great poet whose works have come down to us sang of war long before war became a science or a trade. If, in his time, there was enmity between two little Greek towns, each poured forth its crowd of citizens, ignorant of discipline, and armed with implements of labour rudely turned into weapons. On each side appeared conspicuous a few chiefs, whose wealth had enabled them to procure good armour, horses, and chariots, and whose leisure had enabled them to practise military exercises. One such chief, if he were a man of great strength, agility, and courage, would probably be more formidable than twenty common men; and the force and dexterity with which he flung his spear might have no inconsiderable share in deciding the event of the day. Such were probably the battles with which Homer was familiar. But Homer related the actions of men of a former generation, of men who sprang from the Gods, and communed with the Gods face to face, of men, one

The Campaign.

[1] Note, p. 115. [2] See List of Addison's Works, p. xxxii.

of whom could with ease hurl rocks which two sturdy hinds of a later period would be unable even to lift. He therefore naturally represented their martial exploits as resembling in kind, but far surpassing in magnitude, those of the stoutest and most expert combatants of his own age. Achilles,° clad in celestial armour, drawn by celestial coursers, grasping the spear which none but himself could raise, driving all Troy and Lycia before him, and choking Scamander with dead, was only a magnificent exaggeration of the real hero, who, strong, fearless, accustomed to the use of weapons, guarded by a shield and helmet of the best Sidonian fabric, and whirled along by horses of Thessalian breed, struck down with his own right arm foe after foe. In all rude societies similar notions are found. There are at this day countries where the Lifeguardsman Shaw° would be considered as a much greater warrior than the Duke of Wellington. Buonaparte loved to describe the astonishment with which the Mamelukes° looked at his diminutive figure. Mourad Bey, distinguished above all his fellows by his bodily strength, and by the skill with which he managed his horse and his sabre, could not believe that a man who was scarcely five feet high, and rode like a butcher, could be the greatest soldier in Europe.

55. Homer's descriptions of war had therefore as much truth as poetry requires. But truth was altogether wanting to the performances of those who, writing about battles which had scarcely anything in common with the battles of his times, servilely imitated his manner. The folly of Silius° Italicus, in particular, is positively nauseous. He undertook to record in verse

compared with other battle-pieces.

the vicissitudes of a great struggle between generals of the first order: and his narrative is made up of the hideous wounds which these generals inflicted with their own hands. Asdrubal flings a spear which grazes the shoulder of the consul Nero; but Nero sends his spear into Asdrubal's side. Fabius slays Thuris and Butes and Maris and Arses, and the longhaired Adherbes, and the gigantic Thylis, and Sapharus and Monæsus, and the trumpeter Morinus. Hannibal runs Perusinus through the groin with a stake, and breaks the backbone of Telesinus with a huge stone. This detestable fashion was copied in modern times, and continued to prevail down to the age of Addison. Several versifiers had described William turning thousands to flight by his single prowess, and dyeing the Boyne with Irish blood. Nay, so estimable a writer as John Philips,° the author of the Splendid Shilling, represented Marlborough as having won the battle of Blenheim merely by strength of muscle and skill in fence. The following lines may serve as an example: —

"Churchill, viewing where
The violence of Tallard° most prevailed,
Came to oppose his slaughtering arm. With speed
Precipitate he rode, urging his way
O'er hills of gasping heroes, and fallen steeds
Rolling in death. Destruction, grim with blood,
Attends his furious course. Around his head
The glowing balls play innocent, while he
With dire impetuous sway deals fatal blows
Among the flying Gauls. In Gallic blood
He dyes his reeking sword, and strews the ground
With headless ranks. What can they do? Or how
Withstand his wide-destroying sword?"

56. Addison, with excellent sense and taste, departed from this ridiculous fashion. He reserved his praise for the qualities which made Marlborough truly great, energy, sagacity, military science. But, above all, the poet extolled the firmness of that mind which, in the midst of confusion, uproar, and slaughter, examined and disposed every thing with the serene wisdom of a higher intelligence.

Superiority of Addison's work.

57. Here it was that he introduced the famous comparison of Marlborough to an Angel guiding the whirlwind. We will not dispute the general justice of Johnson's remarks on this passage. But we must point out one circumstance which appears to have escaped all the critics. The extraordinary effect which this simile produced when it first appeared, and which to the following generation seemed inexplicable, is doubtless to be chiefly attributed to a line which most readers now regard as a feeble parenthesis,

Its most famous passage.

"Such as, of late, o'er pale Britannia pass'd."

Addison spoke, not of a storm, but of the storm. The great tempest of November 1703, the only tempest which in our latitude has equalled the rage of a tropical hurricane, had left a dreadful recollection in the minds of all men. No other tempest was ever in this country the occasion of a parliamentary address or of a public fast. Whole fleets had been cast away. Large mansions had been blown down. One Prelate had been buried beneath the ruins of his palace. London and Bristol had presented the appearance of cities just sacked. Hundreds of families were still in mourning. The prostrate trunks

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

of large trees, and the ruins of houses, still attested, in all the southern counties, the fury of the blast. The popularity which the simile of the angel enjoyed among Addison's contemporaries, has always seemed to us to be a remarkable instance of the advantages which, in rhetoric and poetry, the particular has over the general.

58. Soon after the Campaign, was published Addison's Narrative of his Travels in Italy. The first effect produced by this Narrative was disappointment. The crowd of readers who expected politics and scandal, speculations on the projects of Victor Amadeus,° and anecdotes about the jollities of convents and the amours of cardinals and nuns, were confounded by finding that the writer's mind was much more occupied by the war between the Trojans and Rutulians° than by the war between France and Austria; and that he seemed to have heard no scandal of later date than the gallantries of the Empress Faustina.° In time, however, the judgment of the many was overruled by that of the few; and, before the book was reprinted, it was so eagerly sought that it sold for five times the original price. It is still read with pleasure: the style is pure and flowing; the classical quotations and allusions are numerous and happy; and we are now and then charmed by that singularly humane and delicate humour in which Addison excelled all men. Yet this agreeable work, even when considered merely as the history of a literary tour, may justly be censured on account of its faults of omission. We have already said that, though rich in extracts from the Latin poets, it contains scarcely any references to the Latin orators and historians. We must add, that it

Early prose work; *Travels in Italy.*

contains little, or rather no information, respecting the history and literature of modern Italy. To the best of our remembrance, Addison does not mention Dante,° Petrarch,° Boccaccio,° Boiardo,° Berni,° Lorenzo de' Medici,° or Machiavelli.° He coldly tells us that at Ferrara he saw the tomb of Ariosto,° and that at Venice he heard the gondoliers sing verses of Tasso.° But for Tasso and Ariosto he cared far less than for Valerius° Flaccus and Sidonius° Apollinaris. The gentle flow of the Ticin brings a line of Silius° to his mind. The sulphurous stream of Albula° suggests to him several passages of Martial.° But he has not a word to say of the illustrious dead of Santa Croce°; he crosses the wood of Ravenna° without recollecting the Spectre Huntsman, and wanders up and down Rimini° without one thought of Francesca. At Paris he had eagerly sought an introduction to Boileau; but he seems not to have been at all aware that at Florence he was in the vicinity of a poet with whom Boileau could not sustain a comparison, of the greatest lyric poet of modern times, Vincenzio Filicaja.° This is the more remarkable, because Filicaja was the favourite poet of the accomplished Somers,° under whose protection Addison travelled, and to whom the account of the Travels is dedicated. The truth is, that Addison knew little, and cared less, about the literature of modern Italy. His favourite models were Latin. His favourite critics were French. Half the Tuscan poetry that he had read seemed to him monstrous, and half tawdry.

59. His Travels were followed by the lively Opera of Rosamond. This piece was ill set to music, and therefore failed on the stage, but it completely succeeded in print,

and is indeed excellent in its kind. The smoothness with which the verses glide, and the elasticity with which they bound, is, to our ears at least, very pleasing. We are inclined to think that if Addison had left heroic couplets to Pope, and blank verse to Rowe, and had employed himself in writing airy and spirited songs, his reputation as a poet would have stood far higher than it now does. Some years after his death, Rosamond was set to new music by Doctor Arne,° and was performed with complete success. Several passages long retained their popularity, and were daily sung, during the latter part of George the Second's reign, at all the harpsichords in England.

First dramatic work; opera of *Rosamond*.

60. While Addison thus amused himself, his prospects, and the prospects of his party, were constantly becoming brighter and brighter. In the spring of 1705 the ministers were freed from the restraint imposed by a House of Commons in which Tories of the most perverse class had the ascendency. The elections were favourable to the Whigs. The coalition which had been tacitly and gradually formed was now openly avowed. The Great Seal° was given to Cowper.° Somers and Halifax were sworn of the Council. Halifax was sent in the following year to carry the decorations of the order of the Garter to the Electoral Prince of Hanover,[1] and was accompanied on his honourable mission by Addison, who had just been made Undersecretary of State. The Secretary of State under whom Addison first served was Sir Charles Hedges, a Tory. But Hedges was soon dismissed to make room for the most vehement of Whigs,

Favorable political conditions in 1705.

[1] Son of Sophia; see Int., p. xviii, bottom.

Charles, Earl of Sunderland.° In every department of the state, indeed, the High Churchmen were compelled to give place to their opponents. At the close of 1707, the Tories who still remained in office strove to rally, with Harley° at their head. But the attempt, though favoured by the Queen, who had always been a Tory at heart, and who had now quarrelled with the Duchess of Marlborough, was unsuccessful. The time was not yet. The Captain General was at the height of popularity and glory. The Low Church party had a majority in Parliament. The country squires and rectors, though occasionally uttering a savage growl, were for the most part in a state of torpor, which lasted till they were roused into activity, and indeed into madness, by the prosecution of Sacheverell.[1] Harley and his adherents were compelled to retire. The victory of the Whigs was complete. At the general election of 1708, their strength in the House of Commons became irresistible; and before the end of that year, Somers was made Lord President of the Council, and Wharton° Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

61. Addison sat for Malmsbury° in the House of Commons which was elected in 1708. But the House of Commons was not the field for him. The bashfulness of his nature made his wit and eloquence useless in debate. He once rose, but could not overcome his diffidence, and ever after remained silent. Nobody can think it strange that a great writer should fail as a speaker. But many, probably, will think it strange that Addison's failure as a speaker should have had no unfavourable effect on his success as a politician. In our time, a

Political advancement due to literary services.

[1] Int., p. xxiii.

man of high rank and great fortune might, though speaking very little and very ill, hold a considerable post. But it would now be inconceivable that a mere adventurer, a man who, when out of office, must live by his pen, should in a few years become successively Undersecretary of State, chief Secretary for Ireland, and Secretary of State, without some oratorical talent. Addison, without high birth, and with little property, rose to a post which Dukes, the heads of the great houses of Talbot,° Russell,° and Bentinck,° have thought it an honour to fill. Without opening his lips in debate, he rose to a post, the highest that Chatham° or Fox° ever reached. And this he did before he had been nine years in Parliament. We must look for the explanation of this seeming miracle to the peculiar circumstances in which that generation was placed. During the interval which elapsed between the time when the Censorship° of the Press ceased, and the time when parliamentary proceedings began to be freely reported, literary talents were, to a public man, of much more importance, and oratorical talents of much less importance, than in our time. At present, the best way of giving rapid and wide publicity to a fact or an argument is to introduce that fact or argument into a speech made in Parliament. If a political tract were to appear superior to the Conduct of the Allies,[1] or to the best numbers of the Freeholder,[1] the circulation of such a tract would be languid indeed when compared with the circulation of every remarkable word uttered in the deliberations of the legislature. A speech made in the House of Commons at four in the morning is on thirty thousand

[1] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

tables before ten. A speech made on the Monday is read on the Wednesday by multitudes in Antrim and Aberdeenshire. The orator, by the help of the short-hand writer, has to a great extent superseded the pamphleteer. It was not so in the reign of Anne. The best speech could then produce no effect except on those who heard it. It was only by means of the press that the opinion of the public without doors could be influenced; and the opinion of the public without doors could not but be of the highest importance in a country governed by parliaments, and indeed at that time governed by triennial parliaments. The pen was therefore a more formidable political engine than the tongue. Mr. Pitt[1] and Mr. Fox° contended only in Parliament. But Walpole° and Pulteney,° the Pitt and Fox of an earlier period, had not done half of what was necessary, when they sat down amidst the acclamations of the House of Commons. They had still to plead their cause before the country, and this they could only do by means of the press. Their works are now forgotten. But it is certain that there were in Grub° Street few more assiduous scribblers of Thoughts, Letters, Answers, Remarks, than these two great chiefs of parties. Pulteney,° when leader of the Opposition,[2] and possessed of thirty thousand a year, edited the Craftsman.[3] Walpole,° though not a man of literary habits, was the author of at least ten pamphlets, and retouched and corrected many more. These facts sufficiently show of how great importance literary assistance then was to the contending parties.

[1] Index, "Chatham." [2] Int., p. xxvi, bottom.
[3] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

St. John° was, certainly, in Anne's reign, the best Tory speaker; Cowper° was probably the best Whig speaker. But it may well be doubted whether St. John did so much for the Tories as Swift,° and whether Cowper did so much for the Whigs as Addison. When these things are duly considered, it will not be thought strange that Addison should have climbed higher in the state than any other Englishman has ever, by means merely of literary talents, been able to climb. Swift would, in all probability, have climbed as high, if he had not been encumbered by his cassock and his pudding sleeves. As far as the homage of the great went, Swift had as much of it as if he had been Lord Treasurer.

62. To the influence which Addison derived from his literary talents was added all the influence which arises from character. The world, always ready to think the worst of needy political adventurers, was forced to make one exception. Restlessness, violence, audacity, laxity of principle, are the vices ordinarily attributed to that class of men. But faction itself could not deny that Addison had, through all changes of fortune, been strictly faithful to his early opinions, and to his early friends; that his integrity was without stain; that his whole deportment indicated a fine sense of the becoming; that, in the utmost heat of controversy, his zeal was tempered by a regard for truth, humanity, and social decorum; that no outrage could ever provoke him to retaliation unworthy of a Christian and a gentleman; and that his only faults were a too sensitive delicacy, and a modesty which amounted to bashfulness.

Addison's character. (*a*) His integrity.

63. He was undoubtedly one of the most popular men

of his time; and much of his popularity he owed, we believe, to that very timidity which his friends lamented. That timidity often prevented him from exhibiting his talents to the best advantage. But it propitiated Nemesis. It averted that envy which would otherwise have been excited by fame so splendid, and by so rapid an elevation. No man is so great a favourite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity; and such were the feelings which Addison inspired. Those who enjoyed the privilege of hearing his familiar conversation, declared with one voice that it was superior even to his writings. The brilliant Mary Montague° said, that she had known all the wits, and that Addison was the best company in the world. The malignant Pope was forced to own, that there was a charm in Addison's talk, which could be found nowhere else. Swift, when burning with animosity against the Whigs, could not but confess to Stella[1] that, after all, he had never known any associate so agreeable as Addison. Steele, an excellent judge of lively conversation, said, that the conversation of Addison was at once the most polite, and the most mirthful, that could be imagined; that it was Terence° and Catullus° in one, heightened by an exquisite something which was neither Terence nor Catullus, but Addison alone. Young,° an excellent judge of serious conversation, said, that when Addison was at his ease, he went on in a noble strain of thought and language, so as to chain the attention of every hearer. Nor were Addison's great colloquial powers more admirable than the courtesy and softness of heart which

(*b*) His conversational talents.

[1] Index, "Swift," end.

appeared in his conversation. At the same time, it would be too much to say that he was wholly devoid of the malice which is, perhaps, inseparable from a keen sense of the ludicrous. He had one habit which both Swift and Stella applauded, and which we hardly know how to blame. If his first attempts to set a presuming dunce right were ill received, he changed his tone, "assented with civil leer," and lured the flattered coxcomb deeper and deeper into absurdity. That such was his practice we should, we think, have guessed from his works. The Tatler's criticisms on Mr. Softly's sonnet,[1] and the Spectator's dialogue with the politician who is so zealous for the honour of Lady Q—p—t—s,[1] are excellent specimens of this innocent mischief.

64. Such were Addison's talents for conversation. But his rare gifts were not exhibited to crowds or to strangers. As soon as he entered a large company, as soon as he saw an unknown face, his lips were sealed, and his manners became constrained. None who met him only in great assemblies would have been able to believe that he was the same man who had often kept a few friends listening and laughing round a table, from the time when the play ended, till the clock of St. Paul's in Covent Garden° struck four. Yet, even at such a table, he was not seen to the best advantage. To enjoy his conversation in the highest perfection, it was necessary to be alone with him, and to hear him, in his own phrase, think aloud. "There is no such thing," he used to say, "as real conversation, but between two persons."

(*c*) His retiring disposition.

65. This timidity, a timidity surely neither ungraceful

[1] Note, p. 116.

nor unamiable, led Addison into the two most serious faults which can with justice be imputed to him. He found that wine broke the spell which lay on his fine intellect, and was therefore too easily seduced into convivial excess. Such excess was in that age regarded, even by grave men, as the most venial of all peccadilloes, and was so far from being a mark of ill-breeding, that it was almost essential to the character of a fine gentleman. But the smallest speck is seen on a white ground; and almost all the biographers of Addison have said something about this failing. Of any other statesman or writer of Queen Anne's reign, we should no more think of saying that he sometimes took too much wine, than that he wore a long wig and a sword.

(*d*) His faults: (1) excessive wine-drinking,

66. To the excessive modesty of Addison's nature we must ascribe another fault, which generally arises from a very different cause. He became a little too fond of seeing himself surrounded by a small circle of admirers, to whom he was as a King, or rather as a God. All these men were far inferior to him in ability, and some of them had very serious faults. Nor did those faults escape his observation; for, if ever there was an eye which saw through and through men, it was the eye of Addison. But with the keenest observation, and the finest sense of the ridiculous, he had a large charity. The feeling with which he looked on most of his humble companions was one of benevolence, slightly tinctured with contempt. He was at perfect ease in their company; he was grateful for their devoted attachment; and he loaded them with benefits. Their veneration for him appears to have exceeded that with which Johnson° was

and (2) love of adulation.

regarded by Boswell,° or Warburton° by Hurd.° It was not in the power of adulation to turn such a head, or deprave such a heart, as Addison's. But it must in candour be admitted that he contracted some of the faults which can scarcely be avoided by any person who is so unfortunate as to be the oracle of a small literary coterie.

67. One member of this little society was Eustace Budgell,° a young Templer[1] of some literature, and a distant relation of Addison. There was at this time no stain on the character of Budgell, and it is not improbable that his career would have been prosperous and honourable, if the life of his cousin had been prolonged. But, when the master was laid in the grave, the disciple broke loose from all restraint, descended rapidly from one degree of vice and misery to another, ruined his fortune by follies, attempted to repair it by crimes, and at length closed a wicked and unhappy life by self-murder. Yet, to the last, the wretched man, gambler, lampooner, cheat, forger, as he was, retained his affection and veneration for Addison, and recorded those feelings in the last lines which he traced before he hid himself from infamy under London Bridge.

His satellites: (1) Eustace Budgell;

68. Another of Addison's favourite companions was Ambrose Phillipps,° a good Whig and a middling poet, who had the honour of bringing into fashion a species of composition which has been called, after his name, Namby Pamby. But the most remarkable members of the little senate, as Pope long afterwards called it, were Richard Steele° and Thomas Tickell.°

(2) Ambrose Phillipps;

69. Steele had known Addison from childhood. They

[1] Index, "Inns of Court."

had been together at the Charter House° and at Oxford; but circumstances had then, for a time, separated them widely. Steele had left college without taking a degree, had been disinherited by a rich relation, had led a vagrant life, had served in the army, had tried to find the philosopher's stone, and had written a religious treatise and several comedies. He was one of those people whom it is impossible either to hate or to respect. His temper was sweet, his affections warm, his spirits lively, his passions strong, and his principles weak. His life was spent in sinning and repenting; in inculcating what was right, and doing what was wrong. In speculation, he was a man of piety and honour; in practice, he was much of the rake and a little of the swindler. He was, however, so good natured that it was not easy to be seriously angry with him, and that even rigid moralists felt more inclined to pity than to blame him, when he diced himself into a spunging house or drank himself into a fever. Addison regarded Steele with kindness not unmingled with scorn, tried, with little success, to keep him out of scrapes, introduced him to the great, procured a good place for him, corrected his plays, and, though by no means rich, lent him large sums of money. One of these loans appears, from a letter dated in August 1708, to have amounted to a thousand pounds. These pecuniary transactions probably led to frequent bickerings. It is said that, on one occasion, Steele's negligence, or dishonesty, provoked Addison to repay himself by the help of a bailiff. We cannot join Miss Aikin in rejecting this story. Johnson° heard it from Savage,° who heard it from Steele. Few private transactions which took place

(3) Richard Steele;

a hundred and twenty years ago, are proved by stronger evidence than this. But we can by no means agree with those who condemn Addison's severity. The most amiable of mankind may well be moved to indignation, when what he has earned hardly, and lent with great inconvenience to himself, for the purpose of relieving a friend in distress, is squandered with insane profusion. We will illustrate our meaning by an example which is not the less striking because it is taken from fiction. Dr. Harrison, in Fielding's° Amelia, is represented as the most benevolent of human beings; yet he takes in execution, not only the goods, but the person of his friend Booth.[1] Dr. Harrison resorts to this strong measure because he has been informed that Booth, while pleading poverty as an excuse for not paying just debts, has been buying fine jewellery, and setting up a coach. No person who is well acquainted with Steele's life and correspondence can doubt that he behaved quite as ill to Addison as Booth was accused of behaving to Dr. Harrison. The real history, we have little doubt, was something like this:— A letter comes to Addison, imploring help in pathetic terms, and promising reformation and speedy repayment. Poor Dick declares that he has not an inch of candle, or a bushel of coals, or credit with the butcher for a shoulder of mutton. Addison is moved. He determines to deny himself some medals which are wanting to his series of the Twelve Cæsars; to put off buying the new edition of Bayle's° Dictionary; and to wear his old sword and buckles another year. In this way he manages to send a hundred pounds to his friend. The next day he calls on

[1] Note, p. 117.

Steele, and finds scores of gentlemen and ladies assembled. The fiddles are playing. The table is groaning under Champagne, Burgundy, and pyramids of sweetmeats. Is it strange that a man whose kindness is thus abused, should send sheriff's officers to reclaim what is due to him?

(4) Thomas Tickell.

70. Tickell was a young man, fresh from Oxford, who had introduced himself to public notice by writing a most ingenious and graceful little poem in praise of the opera of Rosamond. He deserved, and at length attained, the first place in Addison's friendship. For a time Steele and Tickell were on good terms. But they loved Addison too much to love each other, and at length became as bitter enemies as the rival bulls in Virgil.[1]

Promotion to Irish Secretaryship.

71. At the close of 1708 Wharton° became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed Addison Chief Secretary. Addison was consequently under the necessity of quitting London for Dublin. Besides the chief secretaryship, which was then worth about two thousand pounds a year, he obtained a patent appointing him keeper of the Irish Records for life, with a salary of three or four hundred a year. Budgell° accompanied his cousin in the capacity of private Secretary.

Conduct in office.

72. Wharton and Addison had nothing in common but Whiggism. The Lord Lieutenant was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the Secretary's gentleness and delicacy. Many parts of the Irish administra-

[1] Æneid, XII, 715+; Georgics, III, 220+.

tion at this time appear to have deserved serious blame. But against Addison there was not a murmur. He long afterwards asserted, what all the evidence which we have ever seen tends to prove, that his diligence and integrity gained the friendship of all the most considerable persons in Ireland.

73. The parliamentary career of Addison in Ireland has, we think, wholly escaped the notice of all his biographers. He was elected member for the borough of Cavan in the summer of 1709; and in the journals of two sessions his name frequently occurs. Some of the entries appear to indicate that he so far overcame his timidity as to make speeches. Nor is this by any means improbable; for the Irish House of Commons was a far less formidable audience than the English House; and many tongues which were tied by fear in the greater assembly became fluent in the smaller. Gerard Hamilton,° for example, who, from fear of losing the fame gained by his single speech, sat mute at Westminster during forty years, spoke with great effect at Dublin when he was Secretary to Lord Halifax.

and in Parliament.

74. While Addison was in Ireland, an event occurred to which he owes his high and permanent rank among British writers. As yet his fame rested on performances which, though highly respectable, were not built for duration, and which would, if he had produced nothing else, have now been almost forgotten, on some excellent Latin verses, on some English verses which occasionally rose above mediocrity, and on a book of travels, agreeably written, but not indicating any

Transition to his literary career.

extraordinary powers of mind. These works showed him to be a man of taste, sense, and learning. The time had come when he was to prove himself a man of genius, and to enrich our literature with compositions which will live as long as the English language.

75. In the spring of 1709 Steele formed a literary project of which he was far indeed from foreseeing the consequences. Periodical papers had during many years been published in London. Most of these were political; but in some of them questions of morality, taste, and love casuistry had been discussed. The literary merit of these works was small indeed; and even their names are now known only to the curious.

Previous periodical publications.

76. Steele had been appointed Gazetteer[1] by Sunderland, at the request, it is said, of Addison, and thus had access to foreign intelligence earlier and more authentic than was in those times within the reach of an ordinary news-writer. This circumstance seems to have suggested to him the scheme of publishing a periodical paper on a new plan. It was to appear on the days on which the post left London for the country, which were, in that generation, the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It was to contain the foreign news, accounts of theatrical representations, and the literary gossip of Will's[2] and of the Grecian.[2] It was also to contain remarks on the fashionable topics of the day, compliments to beauties, pasquinades on noted sharpers, and criticisms on popular preachers. The aim of Steele does not appear to have been at first higher than this. He was not ill qualified to conduct the work which he had

Steele's project for the *Tatler*.

[1] Index, "Gazette." [2] Index, "Clubs."

planned. His public intelligence he drew from the best sources. He knew the town, and had paid dear for the knowledge. He had read much more than the dissipated men of that time were in the habit of reading. He was a rake among scholars, and a scholar among rakes. His style was easy and not incorrect; and, though his wit and humour were of no high order, his gay animal spirits imparted to his compositions an air of vivacity which ordinary readers could hardly distinguish from comic genius. His writings have been well compared to those light wines which though deficient in body and flavour, are yet a pleasant small drink, if not kept too long, or carried too far.

77. Isaac Bickerstaff,° Esquire, Astrologer, was an imaginary person, almost as well known in that age as Mr. Paul Pry° or Mr. Samuel Pickwick° in ours. Swift had assumed the name of Bickerstaff in a satirical pamphlet against Partridge, the maker of almanacks. Partridge had been fool enough to publish a furious reply. Bickerstaff had rejoined in a second pamphlet still more diverting than the first. All the wits had combined to keep up the joke, and the town was long in convulsions of laughter. Steele determined to employ the name which this controversy had made popular; and, in 1709, it was announced that Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, Astrologer, was about to publish a paper called the Tatler.

The pseudonym "Bickerstaff."

78. Addison had not been consulted about this scheme; but as soon as he heard of it he determined to give his assistance. The effect of that assistance cannot be better described than in Steele's own words. "I

Addison's coöperation.

fared," he said, "like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him." "The paper," he says elsewhere, "was advanced indeed. It was raised to a greater thing than I intended it."

79. It is probable that Addison, when he sent across St. George's Channel his first contributions to the Tatler, had no notion of the extent and variety of his own powers. He was the possessor of a vast mine, rich with a hundred ores. But he had been acquainted only with the least precious part of his treasures, and had hitherto contented himself with producing sometimes copper and sometimes lead, intermingled with a little silver. All at once, and by mere accident, he had lighted on an inexhaustible vein of the finest gold.

The disclosure of his powers.

80. The mere choice and arrangement of his words would have sufficed to make his essays classical. For never, not even by Dryden,° not even by Temple,° had the English language been written with such sweetness, grace, and facility. But this was the smallest part of Addison's praise. Had he clothed his thoughts in the half French style of Horace Walpole,° or in the half Latin style of Dr. Johnson,° or in the half German jargon of the present day,[1] his genius would have triumphed over all faults of manner. As a moral satirist he stands unrivalled. If ever the best Tatlers and Spectators were equalled in their own kind, we should be inclined to guess that it must have been by the lost comedies of Menander.°

(*a*) Diction.

[1] Note, p. 117.

81. In wit, properly so called,[1] Addison was not inferior to Cowley° or Butler.° No single ode of Cowley contains so many happy analogies as are crowded into the lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller; and we would undertake to collect from the Spectators as great a number of ingenious illustrations as can be found in Hudibras.[2] The still higher faculty of invention Addison possessed in still larger measure. The numerous fictions, generally original, often wild and grotesque, but always singularly graceful and happy, which are found in his essays, fully entitle him to the rank of a great poet, a rank to which his metrical compositions give him no claim. As an observer of life, of manners, of all the shades of human character, he stands in the first class. And what he observed he had the art of communicating in two widely different ways. He could describe virtues, vices, habits, whims, as well as Clarendon.° But he could do something better. He could call human beings into existence, and make them exhibit themselves. If we wish to find anything more vivid than Addison's best portraits, we must go either to Shakspeare or Cervantes.°

(*b*) Invention and character delineation.

82. But what shall we say of Addison's humour, of his sense of the ludicrous, of his power of awakening that sense in others, and of drawing mirth from incidents which occur every day, and from little peculiarities of temper and manner, such as may be found in every man? We feel the charm: we give ourselves up to it: but we strive in vain to analyse it.

(*c*) Humor

83. Perhaps the best way of describing Addison's peculiar pleasantry is to compare it with the pleasantry

[1] Note, p. 117. [2] Index, "Butler."

of some other great satirists. The three most eminent masters of the art of ridicule during the eighteenth century, were, we conceive, Addison, Swift, and Voltaire.° Which of the three had the greatest power of moving laughter may be questioned. But each of them, within his own domain, was supreme.

Proposed comparison:

84. Voltaire is the prince of buffoons. His merriment is without disguise or restraint. He gambols; he grins; he shakes the sides; he points the finger; he turns up the nose; he shoots out the tongue. The manner of Swift is the very opposite to this. He moves laughter, but never joins in it. He appears in his works such as he appeared in society. All the company are convulsed with merriment, while the Dean, the author of all the mirth, preserves an invincible gravity, and even sourness of aspect, and gives utterance to the most eccentric and ludicrous fancies, with the air of a man reading the commination service.[1]

Humor of Voltaire and Swift;

85. The manner of Addison is as remote from that of Swift as from that of Voltaire. He neither laughs out like the French wit, nor, like the Irish wit, throws a double portion of severity into his countenance while laughing inwardly; but preserves a look peculiarly his own, a look of demure serenity, disturbed only by an arch sparkle of the eye, an almost imperceptible elevation of the brow, an almost imperceptible curl of the lip. His tone is never that either of a Jack Pudding° or of a Cynic. It is that of a gentleman, in whom the quickest sense of the ridiculous is constantly tempered by good nature and good breeding.

Addison's more genial,

[1] Note, p. 117.

86. We own that the humour of Addison is, in our opinion, of a more delicious flavour than the humour of either Swift or Voltaire. Thus much, at least, is certain, that both Swift and Voltaire have been successfully mimicked, and that no man has yet been able to mimic Addison. The letter of the Abbé Coyer° to Pansophe is Voltaire all over, and imposed, during a long time, on the Academicians of Paris.[1] There are passages in Arbuthnot's° satirical works which we, at least, cannot distinguish from Swift's best writing. But of the many eminent men who have made Addison their model, though several have copied his mere diction with happy effect, none have been able to catch the tone of his pleasantry. In the World,[2] in the Connoisseur,[2] in the Mirror,[2] in the Lounger,[2] there are numerous papers written in obvious imitation of his Tatlers and Spectators. Most of these papers have some merit; many are very lively and amusing; but there is not a single one which could be passed off as Addison's on a critic of the smallest perspicacity.

more rare,

87. But that which chiefly distinguishes Addison from Swift, from Voltaire, from almost all the other great masters of ridicule, is the grace, the nobleness, the moral purity which we find even in his merriment. Severity, gradually hardening and darkening into misanthropy, characterises the works of Swift. The nature of Voltaire was, indeed, not inhuman; but he venerated nothing. Neither in the masterpieces of art nor in the purest examples of virtue, neither in the Great First Cause nor in the awful enigma of the grave, could he see any thing but subjects for drollery. The more solemn

and more humane.

[1] Note, p. 118. [2] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

and august the theme, the more monkey-like was his grimacing and chattering. The mirth of Swift is the mirth of Mephistophiles°; the mirth of Voltaire is the mirth of Puck.° If, as Soame Jenyns° oddly imagined, a portion of the happiness of Seraphim and just men made perfect be derived from an exquisite perception of the ludicrous, their mirth must surely be none other than the mirth of Addison; a mirth consistent with tender compassion for all that is frail, and with profound reverence for all that is sublime. Nothing great, nothing amiable, no moral duty, no doctrine of natural or revealed religion, has ever been associated by Addison with any degrading idea. His humanity is without a parallel in literary history. The highest proof of virtue is to possess boundless power without abusing it. No kind of power is more formidable than the power of making men ridiculous; and that power Addison possessed in boundless measure. How grossly that power was abused by Swift and by Voltaire is well known. But of Addison it may be confidently affirmed that he has blackened no man's character; nay, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find in all the volumes which he has left us a single taunt which can be called ungenerous or unkind. Yet he had detractors, whose malignity might have seemed to justify as terrible a revenge as that which men, not superior to him in genius, wreaked on Bettesworth° and on Franc de Pompignan.° He was a politician; he was the best writer of his party; he lived in times of fierce excitement, in times when persons of high character and station stooped to scurrility such as is now practised only by the basest of mankind. Yet no provocation and no example could induce him to turn railing for railing

88. Of the service which his essays rendered to morality it is difficult to speak too highly. It is true, that, when the Tatler appeared, that age of outrageous profaneness and licentiousness which followed the Restoration had passed away. Jeremy Collier° had shamed the theatres into something which, compared with the excesses of Etherege° and Wycherley,° might be called decency. Yet there still lingered in the public mind a pernicious notion that there was some connection between genius and profligacy, between the domestic virtues and the sullen formality of the Puritans. That error it is the glory of Addison to have dispelled. He taught the nation that the faith and the morality of Hale° and Tillotson° might be found in company with wit more sparkling than the wit of Congreve,° and with humour richer than the humour of Vanbrugh.° So effectually, indeed, did he retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that, since his time, the open violation of decency has always been considered among us as the mark of a fool. And this revolution, the greatest and most salutary ever effected by any satirist, he accomplished, be it remembered, without writing one personal lampoon.

Ethical effects of his writings.

89. In the early contributions of Addison to the Tatler his peculiar powers were not fully exhibited. Yet from the first, his superiority to all his coadjutors was evident. Some of his later Tatlers are fully equal to any thing that he ever wrote. Among the portraits, we most admire Tom Folio,[1] Ned Softly,[1] and the Political Upholsterer.[1] The proceedings of the Court of Hon-

His contributions to the *Tatler*.

[1] Note, p. 118.

our,[1] the Thermometer of Zeal,[1] the story of the Frozen Words,[2] the Memoirs of the Shilling,[2] are excellent specimens of that ingenious and lively species of fiction in which Addison excelled all men. There is one still better paper of the same class. But though that paper, a hundred and thirty-three years ago, was probably thought as edifying as one of Smalridge's° sermons, we dare not indicate it to the squeamish readers of the nineteenth century.

90. During the session of Parliament which commenced in November 1709, and which the impeachment of Sacheverell has made memorable,[3] Addison appears to have resided in London. The Tatler was now more popular than any periodical paper had ever been; and his connection with it was generally known. It was not known, however, that almost every thing good in the Tatler was his. The truth is, that the fifty or sixty numbers which we owe to him were not merely the best, but so decidedly the best, that any five of them are more valuable than all the two hundred numbers in which he had no share.

Their relative importance.

91. He required, at this time, all the solace which he could derive from literary success. The Queen had always disliked the Whigs. She had during some years disliked the Marlborough family. But, reigning by a disputed title, she could not venture directly to oppose herself to a majority of both Houses of Parliament; and, engaged as she was in a war, on the event of which her own Crown was staked, she could not venture to disgrace a great and successful general. But at length,

Political conditions in 1709.

[1] Note, p. 118. [2] Note, p. 119, top. [3] Int., p. xxiii.

in the year 1710, the causes which had restrained her from showing her aversion to the Low Church party ceased to operate. The trial of Sacheverell[1] produced an outbreak of public feeling scarcely less violent than the outbreaks which we can ourselves remember in 1820, and in 1831. The country gentlemen, the country clergymen, the rabble of the towns, were all, for once, on the same side. It was clear that, if a general election took place before the excitement abated, the Tories would have a majority. The services of Marlborough had been so splendid that they were no longer necessary. The Queen's throne was secure from all attack on the part of Lewis. Indeed, it seemed much more likely that the English and German armies would divide the spoils of Versailles° and Marli,° than that a Marshal of France would bring back the Pretender to St. James's.° The Queen, acting by the advice of Harley,° determined to dismiss her servants. In June the change commenced. Sunderland° was the first who fell. The Tories exulted over his fall. The Whigs tried, during a few weeks, to persuade themselves that her Majesty had acted only from personal dislike to the Secretary, and that she meditated no further alteration. But, early in August, Godolphin° was surprised by a letter from Anne, which directed him to break his white staff. Even after this event, the irresolution or dissimulation of Harley kept up the hopes of the Whigs during another month; and then the ruin became rapid and violent. The Parliament was dissolved. The Ministers were turned out. The Tories were called to office. The tide of popularity ran violently in favour of the High

Downfall of Whig ministry.

[1] Int., p. xxiii.

Church party. That party, feeble in the late House of Commons, was now irresistible. The power which the Tories had thus suddenly acquired, they used with blind and stupid ferocity. The howl which the whole pack set up for prey and for blood appalled even him who had roused and unchained them. When, at this distance of time, we calmly review the conduct of the discarded ministers, we cannot but feel a movement of indignation at the injustice with which they were treated. No body of men had ever administered the government with more energy, ability, and moderation; and their success had been proportioned to their wisdom. They had saved Holland and Germany. They had humbled France. They had, as it seemed, all but torn Spain from the House of Bourbon. They had made England the first power in Europe. At home they had united England and Scotland. They had respected the rights of conscience and the liberty of the subject. They retired, leaving their country at the height of prosperity and glory. And yet they were pursued to their retreat by such a roar of obloquy as was never raised against the government which threw away thirteen colonies, or against the government which sent a gallant army to perish in the ditches of Walcheren.°

92. None of the Whigs suffered more in the general wreck than Addison. He had just sustained some heavy pecuniary losses, of the nature of which we are imperfectly informed, when his Secretaryship was taken from him. He had reason to believe that he should also be deprived of the small Irish office which he held by patent. He had just resigned his Fellow-

Addison's loss of the Secretaryship.

ship.[1] It seems probable that he had already ventured to raise his eyes to a great lady, and that, while his political friends were in power, and while his own fortunes were rising, he had been, in the phrase of the romances which were then fashionable, permitted to hope. But Mr. Addison the ingenious writer, and Mr. Addison the chief Secretary, were, in her ladyship's opinion, two very different persons. All these calamities united, however, could not disturb the serene cheerfulness of a mind conscious of innocence, and rich in its own wealth. He told his friends, with smiling resignation, that they ought to admire his philosophy, that he had lost at once his fortune, his place, his Fellowship, and his mistress, that he must think of turning tutor again, and yet that his spirits were as good as ever.

93. He had one consolation. Of the unpopularity which his friends had incurred, he had no share. Such was the esteem with which he was regarded that, while the most violent measures were taken for the purpose of forcing Tory members on Whig corporations,[2] he was returned to Parliament without even a contest. Swift, who was now in London, and who had already determined on quitting the Whigs, wrote to Stella in these remarkable words: "The Tories carry it among the new members six to one. Mr. Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed; and I believe if he had a mind to be king he would hardly be refused." His continued popularity.

94. The good will with which the Tories regarded Addison is the more honourable to him, because it had not been purchased by any concession on his part.

[1] Index, "Universities." [2] Note, p. 119.

During the general election he published a political Journal, entitled the Whig Examiner. Of that Journal it may be sufficient to say that Johnson,° in spite of his strong political prejudices, pronounced it to be superior in wit to any of Swift's writings on the other side. When it ceased to appear, Swift, in a letter to Stella,[1] expressed his exultation at the death of so formidable an antagonist. "He might well rejoice," says Johnson, "at the death of that which he could not have killed." "On no occasion," he adds, "was the genius of Addison more vigorously asserted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear."

His work on the *Examiner*.

95. The only use which Addison appears to have made of the favour with which he was regarded by the Tories was to save some of his friends from the general ruin of the Whig party. He felt himself to be in a situation which made it his duty to take a decided part in politics. But the case of Steele° and of Ambrose Phillipps° was different. For Phillipps, Addison even condescended to solicit, with what success we have not ascertained. Steele held two places. He was Gazetteer, and he was also a Commissioner of Stamps. The Gazette° was taken from him. But he was suffered to retain his place in the Stamp Office, on an implied understanding that he should not be active against the new government; and he was, during more than two years, induced by Addison to observe this armistice with tolerable fidelity.

His loyalty to his friends.

96. Isaac Bickerstaff° accordingly became silent upon politics, and the article of news which had once formed

[1] Index, "Swift," end.

about one-third of his paper altogether disappeared. The Tatler had completely changed its character. It was now nothing but a series of essays on books, morals, and manners. Steele therefore resolved to bring it to a close, and to commence a new work on an improved plan. It was announced that this new work would be published daily. The undertaking was generally regarded as bold, or rather rash; but the event amply justified the confidence with which Steele relied on the fertility of Addison's genius. On the second of January 1711, appeared the last Tatler. At the beginning of March following appeared the first of an incomparable series of papers, containing observations on life and literature by an imaginary spectator.

The *Tatler* succeeded by the *Spectator*.

97. The Spectator himself was conceived and drawn by Addison; and it is not easy to doubt that the portrait was meant to be in some features a likeness of the painter. The Spectator is a gentleman who, after passing a studious youth at the university, has travelled on classic ground, and has bestowed much attention on curious points of antiquity. He has, on his return, fixed his residence in London, and has observed all the forms of life which are to be found in that great city, has daily listened to the wits of Will's,[1] has smoked with the philosophers of the Grecian,[1] and has mingled with the parsons at Child's,[1] and with the politicians at the St. James's.[1] In the morning, he often listens to the hum of the Exchange; in the evening, his face is constantly to be seen in the pit of Drury Lane° theatre. But an insurmountable bashfulness prevents him from open-

Character of the Spectator.

[1] Index, "Clubs." See also Maps, pp. 124–125.

ing his mouth, except in a small circle of intimate friends.

98. These friends were first sketched by Steele. Four of the club, the templar, the clergyman, the soldier, and the merchant, were uninteresting figures, fit only for a background. But the other two, an old country baronet and an old town rake, though not delineated with a very delicate pencil, had some good strokes. Addison took the rude outlines into his own hands, retouched them, coloured them, and is in truth the creator of the Sir Roger de Coverley and the Will Honeycomb with whom we are all familiar.

The Spectator Club.

99. The plan of the Spectator must be allowed to be both original and eminently happy. Every valuable essay in the series may be read with pleasure separately; yet the five or six hundred essays form a whole, and a whole which has the interest of a novel. It must be remembered, too, that at that time no novel, giving a lively and powerful picture of the common life and manners of England, had appeared. Richardson° was working as a compositor. Fielding° was robbing birds' nests. Smollett° was not yet born. The narrative, therefore, which connects together the Spectator's Essays, gave to our ancestors their first taste of an exquisite and untried pleasure. That narrative was indeed constructed with no art or labour. The events were such events as occur every day. Sir Roger comes up to town to see Eugenio, as the worthy baronet always calls Prince Eugene,° goes with the Spectator on the water to Spring Gardens,° walks among the tombs in the Abbey, and is frightened by the Mohawks,° but conquers his apprehen-

Incidents in the *Spectator* papers.

sion so far as to go to the theatre when the Distressed Mother is acted. The Spectator pays a visit in the summer to Coverley Hall, is charmed with the old house, the old butler, and the old chaplain, eats a jack caught by Will Wimble, rides to the assizes, and hears a point of law discussed by Tom Touchy. At last a letter from the honest butler brings to the club the news that Sir Roger is dead. Will Honeycomb marries and reforms at sixty. The club breaks up; and the Spectator resigns his functions. Such events can hardly be said to form a plot; yet they are related with such truth, such grace, such wit, such humour, such pathos, such knowledge of the human heart, such knowledge of the ways of the world, that they charm us on the hundredth perusal. We have not the least doubt that if Addison had written a novel, on an extensive plan, it would have been superior to any that we possess. As it is, he is entitled to be considered not only as the greatest of the English essayists, but as the forerunner of the great English novelists.

100. We say this of Addison alone; for Addison is the Spectator. About three-sevenths of the work are his; and it is no exaggeration to say that his worst essay is as good as the best essay of any of his coadjutors. His best essays approach near to absolute perfection; nor is their excellence more wonderful than their variety. His invention never seems to flag; nor is he ever under the necessity of repeating himself, or of wearing out a subject. There are no dregs in his wine. He regales us after the fashion of that prodigal nabob who held that there was only one good glass in a bottle. As soon as we have tasted the first sparkling foam of a

Excellence of Addison's contributions.

jest, it is withdrawn, and a fresh draught of nectar is at our lips. On the Monday we have an allegory as lively and ingenious as Lucian's° Auction of Lives; on the Tuesday, an Eastern apologue, as richly coloured as the Tales of Scherezade°; on the Wednesday, a character described with the skill of La Bruyère°; on the Thursday, a scene from common life, equal to the best chapters in the Vicar of Wakefield; on the Friday, some sly Horatian pleasantry on fashionable follies, on hoops, patches, or puppet shows; and on the Saturday, a religious meditation, which will bear a comparison with the finest passages in Massillon.°

101. It is dangerous to select where there is so much that deserves the highest praise. We will venture, however, to say, that any person who wishes to form a notion of the extent and variety of Addison's powers, will do well to read at one sitting the following papers, the two Visits to the Abbey, the Visit to the Exchange, the Journal of the Retired Citizen, the Vision of Mirza, the Transmigrations of Pug the Monkey, and the Death of Sir Roger de Coverley.[1]

Specific mention.

102. The least valuable of Addison's contributions to the Spectator are, in the judgment of our age, his critical papers. Yet his critical papers are always luminous, and often ingenious. The very worst of them must be regarded as creditable to him, when the character of the school in which he had been trained is fairly considered. The best of them were much too good for his readers. In truth, he was not so far behind our generation as he was before his own. No essays in

Value of his critical papers.

[1] Note, p. 119.

the Spectator were more censured and derided than those in which he raised his voice against the contempt with which our fine old ballads were regarded, and showed the scoffers that the same gold which, burnished and polished, gives lustre to the Æneid° and the odes of Horace,° is mingled with the rude dross of Chevy Chase.°

103. It is not strange that the success of the Spectator should have been such as no similar work has ever obtained. The number of copies daily distributed was at first three thousand. It subsequently increased, and had risen to near four thousand when the stamp tax was imposed.[1] That tax was fatal to a crowd of journals. The Spectator, however, stood its ground, doubled its price, and, though its circulation fell off, still yielded a large revenue both to the state and to the authors. For particular papers, the demand was immense; of some, it is said, twenty thousand copies were required. But this was not all. To have the Spectator served up every morning with bohea and rolls was a luxury for the few. The majority were content to wait till essays enough had appeared to form a volume. Ten thousand copies of each volume were immediately taken off, and new editions were called for. It must be remembered, that the population of England was then hardly a third of what it now is. The number of Englishmen who were in the habit of reading, was probably not a sixth of what it now is. A shopkeeper or a farmer who found any pleasure in literature, was a rarity. Nay, there was doubtless more than one knight of the shire[2] whose country seat did not contain ten books, receipt books

Success of the *Spectator*.

[1] Note, p. 119. [2] Int., pp. xiii, bottom, and xiv.

and books on farriery included. In these circumstances, the sale of the Spectator must be considered as indicating a popularity quite as great as that of the most successful works of Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Dickens in our own time.[1]

104. At the close of 1712 the Spectator ceased to appear. It was probably felt that the short-faced gentleman and his club had been long enough before the town; and that it was time to withdraw them, and to replace them by a new set of characters. In a few weeks the first number of the Guardian[2] was published. But the Guardian was unfortunate both in its birth and in its death. It began in dulness and disappeared in a tempest of faction. The original plan was bad. Addison contributed nothing till sixty-six numbers had appeared; and it was then impossible to make the Guardian what the Spectator had been. Nestor Ironside and the Miss Lizards[1] were people to whom even he could impart no interest. He could only furnish some excellent little essays both serious and comic; and this he did.

The *Guardian* succeeds the *Spectator.*

105. Why Addison gave no assistance to the Guardian, during the first two months of its existence, is a question which has puzzled the editors and the biographers, but which seems to us to admit of a very easy solution. He was then engaged in bringing his Cato on the stage.

The *Cato*;

106. The first four acts of this drama had been lying in his desk since his return from Italy. His modest and sensitive nature shrank from the risk of a public and shameful failure; and, though all who saw the

its history,

[1] Note, p. 119. [2] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

manuscript were loud in praise, some thought it possible that an audience might become impatient even of very good rhetoric, and advised Addison to print the play without hazarding a representation. At length, after many fits of apprehension, the poet yielded to the urgency of his political friends, who hoped that the public would discover some analogy between the followers of Cæsar and the Tories, between Sempronius and the apostate Whigs, between Cato,° struggling to the last for the liberties of Rome, and the band of patriots who still stood firm round Halifax and Wharton.[1]

107. Addison gave the play to the managers of Drury Lane° theatre, without stipulating for any advantage to himself. They, therefore, thought themselves bound to spare no cost in scenery and dresses. The decorations, it is true, would not have pleased the skilful eye of Mr. Macready.° Juba's waistcoat blazed with gold lace; Marcia's hoop was worthy of a Duchess on the birthday; and Cato wore a wig worth fifty guineas. The prologue was written by Pope,° and is undoubtedly a dignified and spirited composition. The part of the hero was excellently played by Booth.° Steele undertook to pack a house. The boxes were in a blaze with the stars of the Peers in Opposition. The pit was crowded with attentive and friendly listeners from the Inns° of Court and the literary coffee-houses. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Governor of the Bank of England, was at the head of a powerful body of auxiliaries from the city, warm men and true Whigs, but better known at Jonathan's[2] and Garraway's[2] than in the haunts of wits and critics.

its presentation.

[1] See List of Addison's Works, "*Cato*," p. xxxii. [2] Index, "Clubs."

108. These precautions were quite superfluous. The Tories, as a body, regarded Addison with no unkind feelings. Nor was it for their interest, professing, as they did, profound reverence for law and prescription, and abhorrence both of popular insurrections and of standing armies, to appropriate to themselves reflections thrown on the great military chief and demagogue, who, with the support of the legions and of the common people, subverted all the ancient institutions of his country. Accordingly, every shout that was raised by the members of the Kit Cat[1] was echoed by the High Churchmen of the October[1]; and the curtain at length fell amidst thunders of unanimous applause.

and its reception.

109. The delight and admiration of the town were described by the Guardian[2] in terms which we might attribute to partiality, were it not that the Examiner,[2] the organ of the Ministry, held similar language. The Tories, indeed, found much to sneer at in the conduct of their opponents. Steele had on this, as on other occasions, shown more zeal than taste or judgment. The honest citizens who marched under the orders of Sir Gibby, as he was facetiously called, probably knew better when to buy and when to sell stock than when to clap and when to hiss at a play, and incurred some ridicule by making the hypocritical Sempronius their favourite, and by giving to his insincere rants louder plaudits than they bestowed on the temperate eloquence of Cato. Wharton, too, who had the incredible effrontery to applaud the lines about flying from prosperous vice and from the power of impious men to a

The *Cato* and politicians;

[1] Index, "Clubs." [2] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

private station, did not escape the sarcasms of those who justly thought that he could fly from nothing more vicious or impious than himself. The epilogue, which was written by Garth,° a zealous Whig, was severely and not unreasonably censured as ignoble and out of place. But Addison was described, even by the bitterest Tory writers, as a gentleman of wit and virtue, in whose friendship many persons of both parties were happy, and whose name ought not to be mixed up with factious squabbles.

110. Of the jests by which the triumph of the Whig party was disturbed, the most severe and happy was Bolingbroke's.° Between two acts, he sent for Booth to his box, and presented him, before the whole theatre, with a purse of fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual Dictator. This was a pungent allusion to the attempt which Marlborough had made, not long before his fall,[1] to obtain a patent creating him Captain General for life. *e.g.* Bolingbroke.

111. It was April; and in April, a hundred and thirty years ago, the London season was thought to be far advanced. During a whole month, however, Cato was performed to overflowing houses, and brought into the treasury of the theatre twice the gains of an ordinary spring. In the summer the Drury Lane company went down to the Act° at Oxford, and there, before an audience which retained an affectionate remembrance of Addison's accomplishments and virtues, his tragedy was acted during several days. The gownsmen began to besiege the theatre in the forenoon, and by one in the afternoon all the seats were filled. Success of the *Cato*,

[1] Int., p. xxiii, "The Tory triumph."

112. About the merits of the piece which had so extraordinary an effect, the public, we suppose, has made up its mind. To compare it with the masterpieces of the Attic stage, with the great English dramas of the time of Elizabeth, or even with the productions of Schiller's° manhood, would be absurd indeed. Yet it contains excellent dialogue and declamation, and, among plays fashioned on the French model, must be allowed to rank high; not indeed with Athalie° or Saul°; but, we think, not below Cinna,° and certainly above any other English tragedy of the same school, above many of the plays of Corneille,° above many of the plays of Voltaire° and Alfieri,° and above some plays of Racine.° Be this as it may, we have little doubt that Cato did as much as the Tatlers, Spectators, and Freeholders united, to raise Addison's fame among his contemporaries.

and its literary merit.

113. The modesty and good nature of the successful dramatist had tamed even the malignity of faction. But literary envy, it should seem, is a fiercer passion than party spirit. It was by a zealous Whig that the fiercest attack on the Whig tragedy was made. John Dennis° published Remarks on Cato, which were written with some acuteness and with much coarseness and asperity. Addison neither defended himself nor retaliated. On many points he had an excellent defence; and nothing would have been easier than to retaliate; for Dennis had written bad odes, bad tragedies, bad comedies: he had, moreover, a larger share than most men of those infirmities and eccentricities which excite laughter; and Addison's power of turning

Dennis's attack on the *Cato*.

either an absurd book or an absurd man into ridicule was unrivalled. Addison, however, serenely conscious of his superiority, looked with pity on his assailant, whose temper, naturally irritable and gloomy, had been soured by want, by controversy, and by literary failures.

114. But among the young candidates for Addison's favour there was one distinguished by talents from the rest, and distinguished, we fear, not less by malignity and insincerity. Pope° was only twenty-five. But his powers had expanded to their full maturity; and his best poem, the Rape of the Lock,[1] had recently been published. Of his genius, Addison had always expressed high admiration. But Addison had early discerned, what might indeed have been discerned by an eye less penetrating than his, that the diminutive, crooked, sickly boy was eager to revenge himself on society for the unkindness of nature. In the Spectator, the Essay on Criticism had been praised with cordial warmth; but a gentle hint had been added, that the writer of so excellent a poem would have done well to avoid ill-natured personalities. Pope, though evidently more galled by the censure than gratified by the praise, returned thanks for the admonition, and promised to profit by it. The two writers continued to exchange civilities, counsel, and small good offices. Addison publicly extolled Pope's miscellaneous pieces; and Pope furnished Addison with a prologue. This did not last long. Pope hated Dennis, whom he had injured without provocation. The appearance of the Remarks on Cato gave the irritable poet an opportunity of venting his malice under the show of

Pope's insincere defence of the *Cato*.

[1] Note, p. 119.

friendship; and such an opportunity could not but be welcome to a nature which was implacable in enmity, and which always preferred the tortuous to the straight path. He published, accordingly, the Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis. But Pope had mistaken his powers. He was a great master of invective and sarcasm; he could dissect a character in terse and sonorous couplets, brilliant with antithesis: but of dramatic talent he was altogether destitute. If he had written a lampoon on Dennis, such as that on Atticus,° or that on Sporus,° the old grumbler would have been crushed. But Pope writing dialogue resembled — to borrow Horace's imagery and his own — a wolf, which, instead of biting, should take to kicking, or a monkey which should try to sting. The Narrative is utterly contemptible. Of argument there is not even the show; and the jests are such as, if they were introduced into a farce, would call forth the hisses of the shilling gallery. Dennis raves about the drama; and the nurse thinks that he is calling for a dram. "There is," he cries, "no peripetia in the tragedy, no change of fortune, no change at all." "Pray, good Sir, be not angry," says the old woman; "I'll fetch change." This is not exactly the pleasantry of Addison.

Addison's disapproval of Pope.

115. There can be no doubt that Addison saw through this officious zeal, and felt himself deeply aggrieved by it. So foolish and spiteful a pamphlet could do him no good, and, if he were thought to have any hand in it, must do him harm. Gifted with incomparable powers of ridicule, he had never, even in self-defence, used those powers inhumanly or uncourteously; and he was not disposed to let others make his fame and

A. Pope

his interests a pretext under which they might commit outrages from which he had himself constantly abstained. He accordingly declared that he had no concern in the Narrative, that he disapproved of it, and that if he answered the Remarks, he would answer them like a gentleman; and he took care to communicate this to Dennis. Pope was bitterly mortified; and to this transaction we are inclined to ascribe the hatred with which he ever after regarded Addison.

116. In September 1713 the Guardian[1] ceased to appear. Steele had gone mad about politics. A general election had just taken place: he had been chosen member for Stockbridge; and he fully expected to play a first part in Parliament. The immense success of the Tatler and Spectator had turned his head. He had been the editor of both those papers, and was not aware how entirely they owed their influence and popularity to the genius of his friend. His spirits, always violent, were now excited by vanity, ambition, and faction, to such a pitch that he every day committed some offence against good sense and good taste. All the discreet and moderate members of his own party regretted and condemned his folly. "I am in a thousand troubles," Addison wrote, "about poor Dick, and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself. But he has sent me word that he is determined to go on, and that any advice I may give him in this particular will have no weight with him."

Steele's egotism,

117. Steele set up a political paper called the Englishman, which, as it was not supported by contributions

[1] See ¶ 104.

from Addison, completely failed. By this work, by some other writings of the same kind, and by the airs which he gave himself at the first meeting of the new Parliament, he made the Tories so angry that they determined to expel him. The Whigs stood by him gallantly, but were unable to save him. The vote of expulsion was regarded by all dispassionate men as a tyrannical exercise of the power of the majority. But Steele's violence and folly, though they by no means justified the steps which his enemies took, had completely disgusted his friends; nor did he ever regain the place which he had held in the public estimation.

and its penalty.

118. Addison about this time conceived the design of adding an eighth volume to the Spectator. In June 1714, the first number of the new series appeared, and during about six months three papers were published weekly. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the Englishman and the eighth volume of the Spectator, between Steele without Addison and Addison without Steele. The Englishman is forgotten; the eighth volume of the Spectator contains, perhaps, the finest essays, both serious and playful, in the English language.

The *Spectator*, Second Series.

119. Before this volume was completed, the death of Anne produced an entire change in the administration of public affairs. The blow fell suddenly. It found the Tory party distracted by internal feuds, and unprepared for any great effort. Harley had just been disgraced. Bolingbroke, it was supposed, would be the chief minister. But the Queen was on her death-bed

Return to power with Whigs, 1714.

before the white staff had been given, and her last public act was to deliver it with a feeble hand to the Duke of Shrewsbury.° The emergency produced a coalition between all sections of public men who were attached to the Protestant succession. George the First was proclaimed without opposition. A Council, in which the leading Whigs had seats, took the direction of affairs till the new King should arrive.[1] The first act of the Lords Justices was to appoint Addison their secretary. 120. There is an idle tradition that he was directed to prepare a letter to the King, that he could not satisfy himself as to the style of this composition, and that the Lords Justices called in a clerk who at once did what was wanted. It is not strange that a story so flattering to mediocrity should be popular; and we are sorry to deprive dunces of their consolation. But the truth must be told. It was well observed by Sir James Mackintosh,° whose knowledge of these times was unequalled, that Addison never, in any official document, affected wit or eloquence, and that his despatches are, without exception, remarkable for unpretending simplicity. Everybody who knows with what ease Addison's finest essays were produced must be convinced that, if well-turned phrases had been wanted, he would have had no difficulty in finding them. We are, however, inclined to believe, that the story is not absolutely without a foundation. It may well be that Addison did not know, till he had consulted experienced clerks who remembered the times when William the Third was absent on the Continent, in what form a letter from the Council of Regency

The Letter to the King.

[1] Int., p. xxiii, "Jacobite intrigues," et seq.

to the King ought to be drawn. We think it very likely that the ablest statesmen of our time, Lord John Russell,° Sir Robert Peel,° Lord Palmerston,° for example, would, in similar circumstances, be found quite as ignorant. Every office has some little mysteries which the dullest man may learn with a little attention, and which the greatest man cannot possibly know by intuition. One paper must be signed by the chief of the department; another by his deputy; to a third the royal sign manual is necessary. One communication is to be registered, and another is not. One sentence must be in black ink, and another in red ink. If the ablest Secretary for Ireland were moved to the India Board, if the ablest President of the India Board were moved to the War Office, he would require instruction on points like these; and we do not doubt that Addison required such instruction when he became, for the first time, Secretary to the Lords Justices.

121. George the First took possession of his kingdom without opposition. A new ministry was formed, and a new Parliament favourable to the Whigs chosen. Sunderland° was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Addison again went to Dublin as Chief Secretary.

Return to Ireland.

122. At Dublin Swift resided; and there was much speculation about the way in which the Dean and the Secretary would behave towards each other. The relations which existed between these remarkable men form an interesting and pleasing portion of literary history. They had early attached themselves to the same political party and to the same patrons. While

Previous relations with Swift;

Anne's Whig ministry was in power, the visits of Swift to London and the official residence of Addison in Ireland had given them opportunities of knowing each other. They were the two shrewdest observers of their age. But their observations on each other had led them to favourable conclusions. Swift did full justice to the rare powers of conversation which were latent under the bashful deportment of Addison. Addison, on the other hand, discerned much good nature under the severe look and manner of Swift; and, indeed, the Swift of 1708 and the Swift of 1738 were two very different men.

123. But the paths of the two friends diverged widely. The Whig statesmen loaded Addison with solid benefits. They praised Swift, asked him to dinner, and did nothing more for him. His profession laid them under a difficulty. In the State they could not promote him; and they had reason to fear that, by bestowing preferment in the Church on the author of the Tale of a Tub, they might give scandal to the public, which had no high opinion of their orthodoxy. He did not make fair allowance for the difficulties which prevented Halifax° and Somers° from serving him, thought himself an ill-used man, sacrificed honour and consistency to revenge, joined the Tories, and became their most formidable champion. He soon found, however, that his old friends were less to blame than he had supposed. The dislike with which the Queen and the heads of the Church regarded him was insurmountable; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he obtained an ecclesiastical dignity of no great value, on condition of fixing his residence in a country which he detested.

their necessary limitations,

124. Difference of political opinion had produced, not indeed a quarrel, but a coolness between Swift and Addi-
and the results. son. They at length ceased altogether to see each other. Yet there was between them a tacit compact like that between the hereditary guests in the Iliad.

Εγχεα δ' άλλήλων άλεώμεθα καὶ δί' ὁμίλου·
Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι,
Κτείνειν, ὃν κε θεὸς γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κιχείω,
Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ σοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐναιρέμεν, ὃν κε δύνηαι.[1]

125. It is not strange that Addison, who calumniated and insulted nobody, should not have calumniated or in-
Swift's forbearance. sulted Swift. But it is remarkable that Swift, to whom neither genius nor virtue was sacred, and who generally seemed to find, like most other renegades, a peculiar pleasure in attacking old friends, should have shown so much respect and tenderness to Addison.

126. Fortune had now changed. The accession of the House of Hanover had secured in England the
Addison's generosity. liberties of the people, and in Ireland the dominion of the Protestant caste. To that caste Swift was more odious than any other man. He was hooted and even pelted in the streets of Dublin; and could not venture to ride along the strand for his health without the attendance of armed servants. Many whom he had formerly served now libelled and insulted him. At this time Addison arrived. He had been advised not to show the smallest civility to the Dean of St. Patrick's. He had answered, with admirable spirit, that it might be necessary for men whose fidelity to their party was suspected, to hold no intercourse with political opponents;

[1] Note, p. 120.

but that one who had been a steady Whig in the worst times might venture, when the good cause was triumphant, to shake hands with an old friend who was one of the vanquished Tories. His kindness was soothing to the proud and cruelly wounded spirit of Swift; and the two great satirists resumed their habits of friendly intercourse.

127. Those associates of Addison whose political opinions agreed with his shared his good fortune. He took Tickell° with him to Ireland. He procured for Budgell° a lucrative place in the same kingdom. Ambrose Phillipps° was provided for in England. Steele had injured himself so much by his eccentricity and perverseness, that he obtained but a very small part of what he thought his due. He was, however, knighted; he had a place in the household; and he subsequently received other marks of favour from the court. Addison's patronage.

128. Addison did not remain long in Ireland. In 1715 he quitted his secretaryship for a seat at the Board of Trade. In the same year his comedy of the Drummer[1] was brought on the stage. The name of the author was not announced; the piece was coldly received; and some critics have expressed a doubt whether it were really Addison's. To us the evidence, both external and internal, seems decisive. It is not in Addison's best manner; but it contains numerous passages which no other writer known to us could have produced. It was again performed after Addison's death, and, being known to be his, was loudly applauded. Promotion: the *Drummer*.

129. Towards the close of the year 1715, while the Rebellion was still raging in Scotland,[2] Addison published

[1] See List of Addison's Works, p. xxxiii. [2] Note, p. 120.

the first number of a paper called the Freeholder. Among his political works the Freeholder is entitled to the first place. Even in the Spectator there are few serious papers nobler than the character of his friend Lord Somers,° and certainly no satirical papers superior to those in which the Tory foxhunter is introduced. This character is the original of Squire Western,[1] and is drawn with all Fielding's force, and with a delicacy of which Fielding was altogether destitute. As none of Addison's works exhibit stronger marks of his genius than the Freeholder, so none does more honour to his moral character. It is difficult to extol too highly the candour and humanity of a political writer whom even the excitement of civil war cannot hurry into unseemly violence. Oxford, it is well known, was then the strong-hold of Toryism. The High Street had been repeatedly lined with bayonets in order to keep down the disaffected gownsmen; and traitors pursued by the messengers of the Government had been concealed in the garrets of several colleges. Yet the admonition which, even under such circumstances, Addison addressed to the University, is singularly gentle, respectful, and even affectionate. Indeed, he could not find it in his heart to deal harshly even with imaginary persons. His foxhunter, though ignorant, stupid, and violent, is at heart a good fellow, and is at last reclaimed by the clemency of the King. Steele was dissatisfied with his friend's moderation, and, though he acknowledged that the Freeholder was excellently written, complained that the ministry played on a lute when it was necessary to blow the trumpet. He

The Freeholder.

[1] Index, "Fielding."

accordingly determined to execute a flourish after his own fashion, and tried to rouse the public spirit of the nation by means of a paper called the Town Talk,[1] which is now as utterly forgotten as his Englishman,[1] as his Crisis,[1] as his Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, as his Reader,[1] in short, as every thing that he wrote without the help of Addison.

130. In the same year in which the Drummer was acted, and in which the first numbers of the Freeholder appeared, the estrangement of Pope and Addison became complete. Addison had from the first seen that Pope was false and malevolent. Pope had discovered that Addison was jealous. The discovery was made in a strange manner. Pope had written the Rape of the Lock, in two cantos, without supernatural machinery. These two cantos had been loudly applauded, and by none more loudly than by Addison. Then Pope thought of the Sylphs and Gnomes, Ariel, Momentilla, Crispissa, and Umbriel, and resolved to interweave the Rosicrucian° mythology with the original fabric.[2] He asked Addison's advice. Addison said that the poem as it stood was a delicious little thing, and entreated Pope not to run the risk of marring what was so excellent in trying to mend it. Pope afterwards declared that this insidious counsel first opened his eyes to the baseness of him who gave it.

Estrangement of Pope; remote cause

131. Now there can be no doubt that Pope's plan was most ingenious, and that he afterwards executed it with great skill and success. But does it necessarily follow that Addison's advice was bad? And if Addison's

[1] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv. [2] See Note (on 18. 11), p. 119.

advice was bad, does it necessarily follow that it was given from bad motives? If a friend were to ask us whether we would advise him to risk his all in a lottery of which the chances were ten to one against him, we should do our best to dissuade him from running such a risk. Even if he were so lucky as to get the thirty thousand pound prize, we should not admit that we had counselled him ill; and we should certainly think it the height of injustice in him to accuse us of having been actuated by malice. We think Addison's advice good advice. It rested on a sound principle, the result of long and wide experience. The general rule undoubtedly is that, when a successful work of imagination has been produced, it should not be recast. We cannot at this moment call to mind a single instance in which this rule has been transgressed with happy effect, except the instance of the Rape of the Lock. Tasso° recast his Jerusalem. Akenside° recast his Pleasures of the Imagination, and his Epistle to Curio. Pope himself, emboldened no doubt by the success with which he had expanded and remodelled the Rape of the Lock, made the same experiment on the Dunciad.° All these attempts failed. Who was to foresee that Pope would, once in his life, be able to do what he could not himself do twice, and what nobody else has ever done?

Addison's sound judgment,

132. Addison's advice was good. But had it been bad, why should we pronounce it dishonest? Scott tells us that one of his best friends predicted the failure of Waverley. Herder° adjured Goethe° not to take so unpromising a subject as Faust. Hume° tried to dissuade Robertson° from writing the History of

and his sincerity.

Charles the Fifth. Nay, Pope himself was one of those who prophesied that Cato would never succeed on the stage, and advised Addison to print it without risking a representation. But Scott, Goethe, Robertson, Addison, had the good sense and generosity to give their advisers credit for the best intentions. Pope's heart was not of the same kind with theirs.

133. In 1715, while he was engaged in translating the Iliad, he met Addison at a coffee-house. Phillipps and Budgell were there; but their sovereign got rid of them, and asked Pope to dine with him alone. After dinner, Addison said that he lay under a difficulty which he wished to explain. "Tickell," he said, "translated some time ago the first book of the Iliad.° I have promised to look it over and correct it. I cannot, therefore, ask to see yours; for that would be double-dealing." Pope made a civil reply, and begged that his second book might have the advantage of Addison's revision. Addison readily agreed, looked over the second book, and sent it back with warm commendations. His loyalty to Tickell.

134. Tickell's version of the first book appeared soon after this conversation. In the preface, all rivalry was earnestly disclaimed. Tickell declared that he should not go on with the Iliad. That enterprise he should leave to powers which he admitted to be superior to his own. His only view, he said, in publishing this specimen was to bespeak the favour of the public to a translation of the Odyssey, in which he had made some progress. Tickell's self-effacement.

135. Addison, and Addison's devoted followers, pronounced both the versions good, but maintained that

Tickell's had more of the original. The town gave a decided preference to Pope's. We do not think it worth while to settle such a question of precedence. Neither of the rivals can be said to have translated the Iliad, unless, indeed, the word translation be used in the sense which it bears in the Midsummer Night's Dream. When Bottom° makes his appearance with an ass's head instead of his own, Peter Quince exclaims, "Bless thee! Bottom, bless thee! thou art translated." In this sense, undoubtedly, the readers of either Pope or Tickell may very properly exclaim, "Bless thee, Homer; thou art translated indeed."

Addison's estimate of Pope's *Iliad.*

136. Our readers will, we hope, agree with us in thinking that no man in Addison's situation could have acted more fairly and kindly, both towards Pope, and towards Tickell, than he appears to have done. But an odious suspicion had sprung up in the mind of Pope. He fancied, and he soon firmly believed, that there was a deep conspiracy against his fame and his fortunes. The work on which he had staked his reputation was to be depreciated. The subscription, on which rested his hopes of a competence, was to be defeated. With this view Addison had made a rival translation: Tickell had consented to father it; and the wits of Button's had united to puff it.

Pope's suspicions

137. Is there any external evidence to support this grave accusation? The answer is short. There is absolutely none.

unproven

138. Was there any internal evidence which proved Addison to be the author of this version? Was it a work which Tickell was incapable of producing? Surely not.

Tickell was a Fellow of a College at Oxford, and must be supposed to have been able to construe the Iliad; and he was a better versifier than his friend. We are not aware that Pope pretended to have discovered any turns of expression peculiar to Addison. Had such turns of expression been discovered, they would be sufficiently accounted for by supposing Addison to have corrected his friend's lines, as he owned that he had done.

by evidence,

139. Is there any thing in the character of the accused persons which makes the accusation probable? We answer confidently — nothing. Tickell was long after this time described by Pope himself as a very fair and worthy man. Addison had been, during many years, before the public. Literary rivals, political opponents, had kept their eyes on him. But neither envy nor faction, in their utmost rage, had ever imputed to him a single deviation from the laws of honour and of social morality. Had he been indeed a man meanly jealous of fame, and capable of stooping to base and wicked acts for the purpose of injuring his competitors, would his vices have remained latent so long? He was a writer of tragedy: had he ever injured Rowe°? He was a writer of comedy: had he not done ample justice to Congreve,° and given valuable help to Steele°? He was a pamphleteer: have not his good nature and generosity been acknowledged by Swift, his rival in fame and his adversary in politics?

or justified by the characters of either;

140. That Tickell should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable. That Addison should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable. But that these two men should have conspired

together to commit a villany seems to us improbable in a tenfold degree. All that is known to us of their intercourse tends to prove, that it was not the intercourse of two accomplices in crime. These are some of the lines in which Tickell poured forth his sorrow over the coffin of Addison: —

a fortiori of both combined.

> "Or dost thou warn poor mortals left behind,
> A task well suited to thy gentle mind?
> Oh, if sometimes thy spotless form descend,
> To me thine aid, thou guardian genius, lend.
> When rage misguides me, or when fear alarms,
> When pain distresses, or when pleasure charms,
> In silent whisperings purer thoughts impart,
> And turn from ill a frail and feeble heart;
> Lead through the paths thy virtue trod before,
> Till bliss shall join, nor death can part us more."

141. In what words, we should like to know, did this guardian genius invite his pupil to join in a plan such as the Editor of the Satirist[1] would hardly dare to propose to the Editor of the Age?

(Enforcement of argument.)

142. We do not accuse Pope of bringing an accusation which he knew to be false. We have not the smallest doubt that he believed it to be true; and the evidence on which he believed it he found in his own bad heart. His own life was one long series of tricks, as mean and as malicious as that of which he suspected Addison and Tickell. He was all stiletto and mask. To injure, to insult, and to save himself from the consequences of injury and insult by lying and equivocating, was the habit of his life. He published a lampoon on the

Pope's love of chicanery.

[1] See List of Periodicals, p. xxxiv.

Duke of Chandos°; he was taxed with it; and he lied and equivocated. He published a lampoon on Aaron Hill°; he was taxed with it; and he lied and equivocated. He published a still fouler lampoon on Lady Mary Wortley Montague°; he was taxed with it; and he lied with more than usual effrontery and vehemence. He puffed himself and abused his enemies under feigned names. He robbed himself of his own letters, and then raised the hue and cry after them.[1] Besides his frauds of malignity, of fear, of interest, and of vanity, there were frauds which he seems to have committed from love of fraud alone. He had a habit of stratagem, a pleasure in outwitting all who came near him. Whatever his object might be, the indirect road to it was that which he preferred. For Bolingbroke,° Pope undoubtedly felt as much love and veneration as it was in his nature to feel for any human being. Yet Pope was scarcely dead when it was discovered that, from no motive except the mere love of artifice, he had been guilty of an act of gross perfidy to Bolingbroke.[1]

143. Nothing was more natural than that such a man as this should attribute to others that which he felt within himself. A plain, probable, coherent explanation is frankly given to him. He is certain that it is all a romance. A line of conduct scrupulously fair, and even friendly, is pursued towards him. He is convinced that it is merely a cover for a vile intrigue by which he is to be disgraced and ruined. It is vain to ask him for proofs. He has none, and wants none, except those which he carries in his own bosom. Its fruits.

144. Whether Pope's malignity at length provoked

[1] Note, p. 120.

Addison to retaliate for the first and last time, cannot now be known with certainty. We have only Pope's story, which runs thus. A pamphlet appeared containing some reflections which stung Pope to the quick. What those reflections were, and whether they were reflections of which he had a right to complain, we have now no means of deciding. The Earl of Warwick, a foolish and vicious lad, who regarded Addison with the feeling with which such lads generally regard their best friends, told Pope, truly or falsely, that this pamphlet had been written by Addison's direction. When we consider what a tendency stories have to grow, in passing even from one honest man to another honest man, and when we consider that to the name of honest man neither Pope nor the Earl of Warwick had a claim, we are not disposed to attach much importance to this anecdote.

Addison's alleged attack on Pope.

145. It is certain, however, that Pope was furious. He had already sketched the character of Atticus in prose. In his anger he turned this prose into the brilliant and energetic lines which everybody knows by heart, or ought to know by heart,[1] and sent them to Addison. One charge which Pope has enforced with great skill is probably not without foundation. Addison was, we are inclined to believe, too fond of presiding over a circle of humble friends. Of the other imputations which these famous lines are intended to convey, scarcely one has ever been proved to be just, and some are certainly false. That Addison was not in the habit of "damning with faint praise" appears from in-

Pope's lampoon on "Atticus."

[1] Note, p. 120.

numerable passages in his writings, and from none more than from those in which he mentions Pope. And it is not merely unjust, but ridiculous, to describe a man who made the fortune of almost every one of his intimate friends, as "so obliging that he ne'er obliged."

146. That Addison felt the sting of Pope's satire keenly, we cannot doubt. That he was conscious of one of the weaknesses with which he was reproached is highly probable. But his heart, we firmly believe, acquitted him of the gravest part of the accusation. He acted like himself. As a satirist he was, at his own weapons, more than Pope's match; and he would have been at no loss for topics. A distorted and diseased body, tenanted by a yet more distorted and diseased mind; spite and envy thinly disguised by sentiments as benevolent and noble as those which Sir Peter Teazle admired in Mr. Joseph Surface°; a feeble sickly licentiousness; an odious love of filthy and noisome images; these were things which a genius less powerful than that to which we owe the Spectator could easily have held up to the mirth and hatred of mankind. Addison had, moreover, at his command, other means of vengeance which a bad man would not have scrupled to use. He was powerful in the state. Pope was a Catholic; and, in those times, a minister would have found it easy to harass the most innocent Catholic by innumerable petty vexations. Pope, near twenty years later, said that "through the lenity of the government alone he could live with comfort." "Consider," he exclaimed, "the injury that a man of high rank and credit may do to a private person, under penal laws and many other disadvantages." It is

Addison's forbearance.

pleasing to reflect that the only revenge which Addison took was to insert in the Freeholder a warm encomium on the translation of the Iliad, and to exhort all lovers of learning to put down their names as subscribers. There could be no doubt, he said, from the specimens already published, that the masterly hand of Pope would do as much for Homer as Dryden had done for Virgil. From that time to the end of his life, he always treated Pope, by Pope's own acknowledgment, with justice. Friendship was, of course, at an end.

147. One reason which induced the Earl of Warwick to play the ignominious part of talebearer on this occasion, may have been his dislike of the marriage which was about to take place between his mother and Addison. The Countess Dowager, a daughter of the old and honourable family of the Middletons of Chirk,° a family which, in any country but ours, would be called noble, resided at Holland House.° Addison had, during some years, occupied at Chelsea° a small dwelling, once the abode of Nell Gwynn.° Chelsea is now a district of London, and Holland House may be called a town residence. But, in the days of Anne and George the First, milkmaids and sportsmen wandered between green hedges, and over fields bright with daisies, from Kensington° almost to the shore of the Thames. Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbours, and became intimate friends. The great wit and scholar tried to allure the young Lord from the fashionable amusements of beating watchmen, breaking windows, and rolling women in hogsheads down Holborn Hill,[1] to the study

Addison's suit to the Countess of Warwick.

[1] Index, "Mohocks."

of letters and the practice of virtue. These well-meant exertions did little good, however, either to the disciple or to the master. Lord Warwick grew up a rake; and Addison fell in love. The mature beauty of the Countess has been celebrated by poets in language which, after a very large allowance has been made for flattery, would lead us to believe that she was a fine woman; and her rank doubtless heightened her attractions. The courtship was long. The hopes of the lover appear to have risen and fallen with the fortunes of his party. His attachment was at length matter of such notoriety that, when he visited Ireland for the last time, Rowe addressed some consolatory verses to the Chloe of Holland House. It strikes us as a little strange that, in these verses, Addison should be called Lycidas,° a name of singularly evil omen for a swain just about to cross St. George's Channel.

148. At length Chloe capitulated. Addison was indeed able to treat with her on equal terms. He had reason to expect preferment even higher than that which he had attained. He had inherited the fortune of a brother who died Governor of Madras. He had purchased an estate in Warwickshire, and had been welcomed to his domain in very tolerable verse by one of the neighbouring squires, the poetical foxhunter, William Somerville.° In August 1716, the newspapers announced that Joseph Addison, Esquire, famous for many excellent works both in verse and prose, had espoused the Countess Dowager of Warwick. His marriage.

149. He now fixed his abode at Holland House,° a house which can boast of a greater number of inmates distinguished in political and literary history than any

other private dwelling in England. His portrait still hangs there. The features are pleasing; the complexion is remarkably fair; but, in the expression we trace rather the gentleness of his disposition than the force and keenness of his intellect.

Residence at Holland House.

150. Not long after his marriage he reached the height of civil greatness. The Whig Government had, during some time, been torn by internal dissensions. Lord Townshend° led one section of the Cabinet, Lord Sunderland° the other.[1] At length, in the spring of 1717, Sunderland triumphed. Townshend retired from office, and was accompanied by Walpole° and Cowper.° Sunderland proceeded to reconstruct the Ministry; and Addison was appointed Secretary of State. It is certain that the Seals were pressed upon him, and were at first declined by him. Men equally versed in official business might easily have been found; and his colleagues knew that they could not expect assistance from him in debate. He owed his elevation to his popularity, to his stainless probity, and to his literary fame.

Climax of political career.

151. But scarcely had Addison entered the Cabinet when his health began to fail. From one serious attack he recovered in the autumn; and his recovery was celebrated in Latin verses, worthy of his own pen, by Vincent Bourne,° who was then at Trinity College, Cambridge. A relapse soon took place; and, in the following spring, Addison was prevented by a severe asthma from discharging the duties of his post. He resigned it, and was succeeded by his friend Craggs,° a young man whose natural parts, though little improved

Loss of health.

[1] Int., p. xxv, "Septennial Bill," et seq.

by cultivation, were quick and showy, whose graceful person and winning manners had made him generally acceptable in society, and who, if he had lived, would probably have been the most formidable of all the rivals of Walpole.

152. As yet there was no Joseph Hume.° The Ministers, therefore, were able to bestow on Addison a retiring pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. In what form this pension was given we are not told by the biographers, and have not time to inquire. But it is certain that Addison did not vacate his seat in the House of Commons. Retirement.

153. Rest of mind and body seems to have re-established his health; and he thanked God, with cheerful piety, for having set him free both from his office and from his asthma. Many years seemed to be before him, and he meditated many works, a tragedy on the death of Socrates, a translation of the Psalms, a treatise on the evidences of Christianity. Of this last performance, a part, which we could well spare, has come down to us. Literary plans.

154. But the fatal complaint soon returned, and gradually prevailed against all the resources of medicine. It is melancholy to think that the last months of such a life should have been overclouded both by domestic and by political vexations. A tradition which began early, which has been generally received, and to which we have nothing to oppose, has represented his wife as an arrogant and imperious woman. It is said that, till his health failed him, he was glad to escape Last days; Steele's estrangement.

from the Countess Dowager and her magnificent dining room, blazing with the gilded devices of the House of Rich, to some tavern where he could enjoy a laugh, a talk about Virgil° and Boileau,° and a bottle of claret, with the friends of his happier days. All those friends, however, were not left to him. Sir Richard Steele had been gradually estranged by various causes. He considered himself as one who, in evil times, had braved martyrdom for his political principles, and demanded, when the Whig party was triumphant, a large compensation for what he had suffered when it was militant. The Whig leaders took a very different view of his claims. They thought that he had, by his own petulance and folly, brought them as well as himself into trouble, and though they did not absolutely neglect him, doled out favours to him with a sparing hand. It was natural that he should be angry with them, and especially angry with Addison. But what above all seems to have disturbed Sir Richard, was the elevation of Tickell, who, at thirty, was made by Addison Undersecretary of State; while the Editor of the Tatler and Spectator, the author of the Crisis, the member for Stockbridge who had been persecuted for firm adherence to the House of Hanover, was, at near fifty, forced, after many solicitations and complaints, to content himself with a share in the patent of Drury Lane° theatre. Steele himself says, in his celebrated letter to Congreve,° that Addison, by his preference of Tickell,° "incurred the warmest resentment of other gentlemen"; and every thing seems to indicate that, of those resentful gentlemen, Steele was himself one.

155. While poor Sir Richard was brooding over what he considered as Addison's unkindness, a new cause of quarrel arose. The Whig party, already divided against itself, was rent by a new schism. The celebrated Bill for limiting the number of Peers[1] had been brought in. The proud Duke of Somerset, first in rank of all the nobles whose origin permitted them to sit in Parliament, was the ostensible author of the measure. But it was supported, and, in truth, devised by the Prime Minister. *The Peerage Bill.*

156. We are satisfied that the bill was most pernicious; and we fear that the motives which induced Sunderland° to frame it were not honourable to him. But we cannot deny that it was supported by many of the best and wisest men of that age. Nor was this strange. The royal prerogative had, within the memory of the generation then in the vigour of life, been so grossly abused, that it was still regarded with a jealousy which, when the peculiar situation of the House of Brunswick° is considered, may perhaps be called immoderate. The particular prerogative of creating peers had, in the opinion of the Whigs, been grossly abused by Queen Anne's last Ministry; and even the Tories admitted that her Majesty, in swamping, as it has since been called, the Upper House, had done what only an extreme case could justify. The theory of the English constitution, according to many high authorities, was that three independent powers, the sovereign, the nobility, and the commons, ought constantly to act as checks on each other. If this theory were sound, it seemed to follow *Its merits.*

[1] Int., p. xxv.

that to put one of these powers under the absolute control of the other two, was absurd. But if the number of peers were unlimited, it could not well be denied that the Upper House was under the absolute control of the Crown and the Commons, and was indebted only to their moderation for any power which it might be suffered to retain.

157. Steele took part in the Opposition, Addison with the Ministers. Steele, in a paper called the Plebeian, vehemently attacked the bill. Sunderland called for help on Addison, and Addison obeyed the call. In a paper called the Old Whig, he answered, and indeed refuted, Steele's arguments. It seems to us that the premises of both the controversialists were unsound, that, on those premises, Addison reasoned well and Steele ill, and that consequently Addison brought out a false conclusion while Steele blundered upon the truth. In style, in wit, and in politeness, Addison maintained his superiority, though the Old Whig is by no means one of his happiest performances.

Addison's defence; the *Old Whig*.

158. At first, both the anonymous opponents observed the laws of propriety. But at length Steele so far forgot himself as to throw an odious imputation on the morals of the chiefs of the administration. Addison replied with severity, but, in our opinion, with less severity than was due to so grave an offence against morality and decorum; nor did he, in his just anger, forget for a moment the laws of good taste and good breeding. One calumny which has been often repeated, and never yet contradicted, it is our duty to expose. It asserted in the Biographia Britannica that Addison des-

(Addison misunderstood.)

ignated Steele as "little Dicky." This assertion was repeated by Johnson,° who had never seen the Old Whig, and was therefore excusable. It has also been repeated by Miss Aikin,° who has seen the Old Whig, and for whom therefore there is less excuse. Now, it is true that the words "little Dicky" occur in the Old Whig, and that Steele's name was Richard. It is equally true that the words "little Isaac" occur in the Duenna, and that Newton's° name was Isaac. But we confidently affirm that Addison's little Dicky had no more to do with Steele, than Sheridan's° little Isaac with Newton. If we apply the words "little Dicky" to Steele, we deprive a very lively and ingenious passage, not only of all its wit, but of all its meaning. Little Dicky was the nickname of Henry Norris, an actor of remarkably small stature, but of great humour, who played the usurer Gomez, then a most popular part, in Dryden's 'Spanish Friar.' *

159. The merited reproof which Steele had received,

* "We will transcribe the whole paragraph. How it can have been misunderstood is unintelligible to us.

'But our author's chief concern is for the poor House of Commons, whom he represents as naked and defenceless, when the Crown by losing this prerogative, would be less able to protect them against the power of a House of Lords. Who forbears laughing when the *Spanish Friar* represents little Dicky, under the person of Gomez, insulting the colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown? This Gomez, says he, flew upon him like a dragon, got him down, the Devil being strong in him, and gave him bastinado on bastinado and buffet on buffet, which the poor colonel, being prostrate, suffered with a most Christian patience. The improbability of the fact never fails to raise mirth in the audience; and one may venture to answer for a British House of Commons, if we may guess from its conduct hitherto, that it will scarce be either so tame or so weak as our author supposes.'"

— MACAULAY.

though softened by some kind and courteous expressions, galled him bitterly. He replied with little force and great acrimony; but no rejoinder appeared. Addison was fast hastening to his grave; and had, we may well suppose, little disposition to prosecute a quarrel with an old friend. His complaint had terminated in dropsy. He bore up long and manfully. But at length he abandoned all hope, dismissed his physicians, and calmly prepared himself to die.

End of controversy.

160. His works he intrusted to the care of Tickell,° and dedicated them a very few days before his death to Craggs,° in a letter written with the sweet and graceful eloquence of a Saturday's Spectator. In this, his last composition, he alluded to his approaching end in words so manly, so cheerful, and so tender, that it is difficult to read them without tears. At the same time he earnestly recommended the interests of Tickell to the care of Craggs.

Preparation for death.

161. Within a few hours of the time at which this dedication was written, Addison sent to beg Gay,° who was then living by his wits about town, to come to Holland House. Gay went, and was received with great kindness. To his amazement his forgiveness was implored by the dying man. Poor Gay, the most good-natured and simple of mankind, could not imagine what he had to forgive. There was, however, some wrong, the remembrance of which weighed on Addison's mind, and which he declared himself anxious to repair. He was in a state of extreme exhaustion; and the parting was doubtless a friendly one on both sides. Gay supposed that some plan to serve him had been in agitation at court, and

Interview with Gay.

had been frustrated by Addison's influence. Nor is this improbable. Gay had paid assiduous court to the royal family. But in the Queen's days he had been the eulogist of Bolingbroke,° and was still connected with many Tories. It is not strange that Addison, while heated by conflict, should have thought himself justified in obstructing the preferment of one whom he might regard as a political enemy. Neither is it strange that, when reviewing his whole life, and earnestly scrutinising all his motives, he should think that he had acted an unkind and ungenerous part, in using his power against a distressed man of letters, who was as harmless and as helpless as a child.

162. One inference may be drawn from this anecdote. It appears that Addison, on his deathbed, called himself to a strict account, and was not at ease till he had asked pardon for an injury which it was not even suspected that he had committed, for an injury which would have caused disquiet only to a very tender conscience. Is it not then reasonable to infer that, if he had really been guilty of forming a base conspiracy against the fame and fortunes of a rival, he would have expressed some remorse for so serious a crime? But it is unnecessary to multiply arguments and evidence for the defence when there is neither argument nor evidence for the accusation. Its significance.

163. The last moments of Addison were perfectly serene. His interview with his son-in-law is universally known. "See," he said, "how a Christian can die." The piety of Addison was, in truth, of a singularly cheerful character. The feeling which pre- His death.

dominates in all his devotional writings is gratitude. God was to him the all wise and all powerful friend who had watched over his cradle with more than maternal tenderness; who had listened to his cries before they could form themselves in prayer; who had preserved his youth from the snares of vice; who had made his cup run over with worldly blessings; who had doubled the value of those blessings, by bestowing a thankful heart to enjoy them, and dear friends to partake them; who had rebuked the waves of the Ligurian° gulf, had purified the autumnal air of the Campagna, and had restrained the avalanches of Mont Cenis.° Of the Psalms, his favourite was that which represents the Ruler of all things under the endearing image of a shepherd, whose crook guides the flock safe, through gloomy and desolate glens, to meadows well watered and rich with herbage. On that goodness to which he ascribed all the happiness of his life, he relied in the hour of death with the love which casteth out fear. He died on the seventeenth of June 1719. He had just entered on his forty-eighth year.

164. His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber,° and was borne thence to the Abbey at dead of night. The choir sang a funeral hymn. Bishop Atterbury,° one of those Tories who had loved and honoured the most accomplished of the Whigs, met the corpse, and led the procession by torchlight, round the shrine of Saint Edward and the graves of the Plantagenets, to the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. On the north side of that Chapel, in the vault of the House of Albemarle, the coffin of Addison lies next to the coffin of Montague.° Yet a few months; and the same mourners

The obsequies.

passed again along the same aisle. The same sad anthem was again chanted. The same vault was again opened; and the coffin of Craggs° was placed close to the coffin of Addison.

165. Many tributes were paid to the memory of Addison; but one alone is now remembered. Tickell bewailed his friend in an elegy which would do honour to the greatest name in our literature, and which unites the energy and magnificence of Dryden° to the tenderness and purity of Cowper.° This fine poem was prefixed to a superb edition of Addison's works, which was published, in 1721, by subscription. The names of the subscribers proved how widely his fame had been spread. That his countrymen should be eager to possess his writings, even in a costly fŏrm, is not wonderful. But it is wonderful that, though English literature was then little studied on the continent, Spanish Grandees, Italian Prelates, Marshals of France, should be found in the list. Among the most remarkable names are those of the Queen of Sweden, of Prince Eugene,° of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, of the Doge of Genoa, of the Regent Orleans,° and of Cardinal Dubois.° We ought to add that this edition, though eminently beautiful, is in some important points defective; nor, indeed, do we yet possess a complete collection of Addison's writings.

Evidences of respect.

166. It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow, nor any of his powerful and attached friends, should have thought of placing even a simple tablet, inscribed with his name, on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed

Memorial in Westminster.

and wept over his pages, that the omission was supplied by the public veneration. At length, in our own time, his image, skilfully graven, appeared in the Poet's Corner. It represents him, as we can conceive him, clad in his dressing gown and freed from his wig, stepping from his parlour at Chelsea° into his trim little garden, with the account of the Everlasting Club,[1] or the Loves of Hilpa and Shalum,[1] just finished for the next day's Spectator, in his hand. Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it, who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue, after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism.

[1] Note, p. 121.

POETS' CORNER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE AND EXPLANATORY.

13. 9. These lines occur in the *Pygmæo-machia* (p. xxxi), and may be freely rendered as follows: "And now, amid the files, presses forward the tall chief of the Pygmies, with dreadful majesty and stately stride, his giant frame towering above all the rest — rising even a nail's breadth above them."

15. 14. In the first scene of Jonson's *The Poetaster*, Act V., Virgil is depicted as reading to his patron, Mæcenas, and his friends from the Fourth Book of the *Æneid*, the passage (ll. 173–188) containing an allegorical description of the Goddess Rumor, or Fame, daughter of Terra. The Giants, brute sons of Earth, had attempted to scale Heaven, and had been chastised by Jove. Then their "parent, Earth, in spite" against all the gods, brought forth Rumor, swift of flight, keen of vision, and clamorous of tongue.

18. 28. The government of France, under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., was but little removed from absolutism, although it was Parliamentary in type. In 1830 Charles X. attempted (*a*) to nullify an election recently held for choosing representatives to the national legislature; (*b*) to alter the basis of suffrage laid down in the Constitution; and (*c*) to establish a vigorous Censorship of the Press. A revolution ensued, and the king was driven from the throne. In the Constitutional Monarchy which followed, the champions of free speech were recognized, and in 1843 (when this essay was written), among the notable persons active in French political life were Guizot, an author, and formerly a Professor of History; Thiers, a historian, and editor of *Le National*; Villemain, formerly Professor of Rhetoric; Lamartine, a poet; and Etienne Arago, a popular author.

25. 10. This passage may be freely rendered as follows: "Muse, why dost thou bid me again to stammer in Latin verses, — me who sprang from foreign stock far north of the Alps?"

27. 10. No. 489 of the *Spectator* contained the following ode, in the second stanza of which Addison evidently refers to his sojourn at Rome (**31**, 4–12); in the third to his journey over Mont Cenis (**32**, 15–23); and in the fourth and the remaining stanzas to his threatened shipwreck (**27**, 2–13): —

"How are thy servants blest, O Lord!
How sure is their defence!
Eternal Wisdom is their guide,
Their help Omnipotence.

"In foreign realms and lands remote,
Supported by thy care,
Through burning climes I pass'd unhurt,
And breathed in tainted air.

"Thy mercy sweeten'd every soil,
Made every region please:
The hoary Alpine hills it warm'd,
And smooth'd the Tyrrhene seas.

"Think, O my soul, devoutly think,
How, with affrighted eyes,
Thou saw'st the wide extended deep
In all its horrors rise!

"Confusion dwelt in every face,
And fear in every heart:
When waves on waves, and gulfs on gulfs,
O'ercame the pilot's art.

"Yet then from all my griefs, O Lord,
Thy mercy set me free,
Whilst in the confidence of prayer
My soul took hold on thee.

"For though in dreadful whirls we hung
High on the broken wave,
I knew thou wert not slow to hear,
Nor impotent to save.

"The storm was laid, the winds retired,
Obedient to thy will;
The sea that roar'd at thy command,
At thy command was still.

"In midst of dangers, fears, and death,
Thy goodness I'll adore,
And praise thee for thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more.

"My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee."

28. 22. San Marino, one of the oldest states of Europe, lying within the territory of the kingdom of Italy, has preserved an independent republican government for centuries. It is one of the smallest states in the world, covering but thirty-two square miles, and containing only eight thousand inhabitants.

32. 2. In using the expression the "Museum" at Florence, Macaulay probably has in mind the art gallery of the Uffizi Palace, which contains a multitude of rare works of art, — marbles (including the famous "Niobe" group), bronzes (including Donatello's "David"), and paintings. The Vatican sculptures include the "Apollo Belvedere," the "Antinous," and the "Laocoon group."

33. 4. The value and the ingenuousness of Macaulay's criticism may be judged from the fact that this impressive statement covers the "heroic poems," published in a period of *eleven years* only, since Dryden died in 1700, and Pope's *Essay on Criticism* appeared in 1711.

37. 1. The Act of Settlement, passed in 1701, had provided that after the death of Queen Anne the succession to the throne should devolve upon her father's cousin, Sophia, Princess of Hanover; and in the event of her death, upon her direct descendants, provided they were Protestants. Louis XIV. had ignored this act in proclaiming Anne's brother king of England on the death of James II. in 1701. Marlborough's victory over the French at Blenheim rendered hopeless Louis's plans for seating James Edward upon his father's throne.

39. 1. In the *Campaign*, when Addison approaches the climax of his description of the contest between Marlborough and Tallard at Blenheim, he artfully interrupts his narrative with the exclamation: —

"But, O my Muse! what numbers wilt thou find
To sing the furious troops in battle join'd?
Methinks I hear the drum's tumultuous sound,
The victors' shouts and dying groans confound;
The dreadful burst of cannon rend the skies,
And all the thunder of the battle rise.

"'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was prov'd,
That, in the shock of charging hosts unmov'd,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair
Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war;
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,

Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempest shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleased th' Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

51. 11. "WILL'S COFFEE HOUSE, April 24 (1710).

"I yesterday came hither about two hours before the company generally make their appearance, with a design to read over all the newspapers; but, upon my sitting down, I was accosted by Ned Softly, who saw me from a corner in the other end of the room, where I found he had been writing something. . . . 'You must understand,' says Ned, 'that the sonnet I am going to read to you was written upon a lady who showed me some verses of her own making, and is perhaps the best poet of our age. But you shall hear it.' Upon which he began to read as follows: —

"'TO MIRA, ON HER INCOMPARABLE POEMS.

I.

"'When dress'd in laurel wreaths you shine,
And tune your soft, melodious notes,
You seem a sister of the Nine,
Or Phœbus' self in petticoats.

II.

"'I fancy, when your song you sing,
Your song you sing with so much art,
Your pen was pluck'd from Cupid's wing;
For, ah! it wounds me like his dart.'

"'Why,' says I, 'this is a little nosegay of conceits, a very lump of salt; every verse has something in it that piques; and then the dart in the last line is certainly as pretty a sting in the tail of an epigram . . . as ever entered into the thought of a poet.'" Here follows an account of Mr. Bickerstaff's discussion of each line and phrase of the poem with its author, who does not perceive the delicious satire of the criticisms.

51. 13. In the *Spectator*, No. 567, Addison introduced a burlesque attack on persons in public life, satirizing those libellous writers who introduced into their articles the names of their victims with the vowels left out in order to escape prosecution. One sentence read as follows: "Must the British nation suffer forsooth, because my lady Q-p-t-s has been disobliged?" Of course, "my Lady Q-p-t-s" was a wholly mythical

person, but in the next issue (No. 568) Addison described an interview at a coffee house with a politician who assumed to know who was intended by this, as by all the other syncopated names. "I do assure you," says he, "were I my Lady Q-p-t-s, I would sue him for *scandalum magnatum*."

55. 12. Mr. Booth, in Fielding's *Amelia*, is the extravagant and rather worthless husband of the heroine of the story, and is uplifted and ennobled by the fidelity and nobility of her character. Dr. Harrison is the clergyman who aided in bringing about their marriage, and who is a kind and yet wise friend to both.

60. 25. This reference to a change in literary styles is suggestive of the several influences that have shaped English literary taste at different epochs. Horace Walpole's style, says Macaulay, elsewhere, "is more deeply tainted with Gallicism than that of any other English writer with whom we are acquainted. His composition often reads, for a page together, like a rude translation from the French." Dr. Johnson's style, shaped by his extraordinary Latin scholarship, may be judged by the following extract from a letter: "That voluntary debility, which modern language is content to term indolence, will, if it is not counteracted by resolution, render in time the strongest faculties lifeless, and turn the flame to the smoke of virtue." Carlyle (to whom Macaulay refers last), by his translations from the German, did perhaps more than any other writer to familiarize the English people with the works of the great German poets and philosophers of the last century. It may be suspected that the "half-German jargon" in which he clothed his thoughts (*e.g.* in *Sartor Resartus* and the *French Revolution*) was deliberately adopted for the sake of attracting attention to his utterances.

61. 1. By "wit, properly so called," Macaulay means an exercise of the fancy that was especially admired in the eighteenth century. It is thus defined by Addison: Wit is "the putting together with quickness and variety ideas wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity . . . in such a way as to give delight and surprise to the reader." Macaulay illustrates this by the analogy in the *Lines to Kneller* (*see* List of Addison's Works, p. xxxiii), where Kneller's work is ingeniously demonstrated to be akin to that of Phidias. Of the "ingenious illustrations" in Hudibras, the following is perhaps the most celebrated: —

> "And, like a lobster boiled, the morn
> From black to red began to turn."

62. 18. The "commination service" is a service ordained to be read in the Church of England on the first day of Lent, for the "denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners." The "invincible gravity" of Dean Swift when giving utterance to his most eccentric fancies

may be judged by this passage from his *Modest Proposal* to utilize the surplus babies in Ireland for food. "I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout."

63. 8. In April, 1766, was published in Paris a satirical and abusive letter signed V * * * addressed to Dr. Jean-Jaques Pansophe, by whom was evidently meant Jean Jaques Rousseau. The letter was a defence of the writer against a charge of atheism, and was at once attributed to Voltaire; but he strenuously denied its authorship and diverted suspicion toward the Abbe Coyer. The weight of evidence to-day, however, seems to indicate that Voltaire was the author.

65. 29, 30. "**Tom Folio** is a broker in learning, employed to get together good editions, and stock the libraries of great men. . . . He is a universal scholar so far as the title-page of all authors; knows the manuscript in which they were discovered, the editions through which they have passed, with the praises or censures which they have received from the several members of the learned world. He has a greater esteem for Aldus and Elzevir than for Virgil and Horace." (*Tatler*, No. 158). **Ned Softly** (*Tatler*, 163) is referred to in the note on **51**, 10. The **Political Upholsterer** (*Tatler*, No. 155) was an industrious man of business who became so much engrossed in the pursuit of political gossip, especially that relating to the intrigues of continental powers, that he finally became wholly neglectful of the upholsterer's trade, and was forced to borrow of his friends half-crowns wherewith to support life while he pestered them by detailing his news at inopportune times. (*See, also*, No. 160.) The **Court of Honor** is described in the *Tatler*, No. 250, as follows: "As I last year presided over a court of justice, it is my intention this year to set myself at the head of a court of honor. . . . I intend to set myself as president, with several men of honor on my right hand, and women of virtue on my left, as my assistants. . . . Having thus furnished my bench, I shall establish correspondences with the horse-guards, and the veterans of Chelsea College; the former to furnish me with twelve men of honor as often as I shall have occasion for a grand jury; and the latter, with as many good men and true, for a petty jury." The records contained in *Tatler*, Nos. 253, 256, 259, 262, 265, relate how the court adjudged cases of "short bows, cold salutations, supercilious looks," etc. By some editors these papers are attributed to Addison and Steele jointly. The **Thermometer of Zeal** (*Tatler*, No. 220) is a "church thermometer" upon which the degrees are "marked upon the following figure . . . : Ignorance, Persecution, Wrath, Zeal, CHURCH, Moderation, Lukewarmness, Infidelity, Ignorance. The reader will observe that the church is placed in the middle point of the glass,

between Zeal and Moderation; the situation in which she always flourishes, and in which every good Englishman wishes her." The story of the **Frozen Words** (which thawed and became audible during a period of warm weather), is told in *Tatler*, No. 254. The **Memoirs of a Shilling** (which turned its face toward its annalist and spoke in "a soft silver sound") may be found in *Tatler*, No. 249.

69. 20. In many English towns, political rights were limited, by a charter of incorporation, to a small body of persons, whose powers were self-perpetuated. Thus a party, once in power, was enabled to control elections by the use of the powers of corporations, and of its patronage in both church and state.

74. 18–21. The first paper on **Westminster Abbey** (*Spectator*, No. 26) describes the serious reflections to which the sight of that noble and historic edifice naturally gives rise; the second (No. 329) is a humorous description of the behavior of Sir Roger de Coverley within its precincts. The **Visit to the Exchange** (No. 69) is devoted to the consideration of the importance of commerce to civilization. The **Journal of the Retired Citizen** (No. 317) contains a minute account of his daily life, including such items as "Monday, *eight o'clock*,—I put on my clothes and walked into the parlour. Tuesday (*being holiday*) *eight o'clock*.—Rose as usual." The **Vision of Mirza** (No. 159) is an allegory upon the significance of life and death. The **Transmigrations of Pug the Monkey** (No. 343) employs the doctrine of Pythagoras that souls pass from body to body as a basis for satire upon the animal propensities of some men. The **Death of Sir Roger** (No. 517) is notable for its simple, homely pathos.

75. 12. This stamp tax, imposed in 1712, required that there be affixed to each newspaper consisting of a single sheet a stamp of the value of one half-penny. This was a device of the party then in power (Tory) to check the libellous attacks of its political adversaries through the periodical press. During the reign of George II. the tax was doubled.

76. 5. The following data may serve as a basis for comparison: The first edition of Scott's *Rob Roy* (10,000 copies) was exhausted in a fortnight; of Dickens's *Christmas Carol*, five editions (15,000 copies in all) were sold the first year; of the *Spectator* the earlier sales were 3000 copies daily, and the later sales are estimated at 14,000 copies daily.

76. 18. The Lizard family played in the *Guardian* a part similar to that of the Spectator Club in the *Spectator*, and to Isaac Bickerstaff and Jenny Distaff in the *Tatler*. Nestor Ironside was "the Guardian" of certain orphaned children of the Lizard family.

81. 11. *The Rape of the Lock* describes an episode in the London society in which Pope moved,—namely, the surreptitious cutting of a lock of hair from the head of Miss Arabella Fermor by Lord Petre, at a

card party. It is written in a mock-heroic vein, the wrath of the lady forming the principal motif, as does that of Achilles in the *Iliad*. In its original form it consisted of two cantos, and contained no element of the supernatural, but it was subsequently enlarged to five cantos by the addition of sylphs, gnomes, and genii, who play the same part in the strife that Zeus, Athene, and the other deities play in the *Iliad*, and thus increase the opportunity for pseudo-heroics.

88. 1. This passage is quoted from *Iliad*, VI., 226+, where Glaucus and Diomed, when about to fight, discover that their fathers had been pledged to amity by the ties of "guest-friendship." In Pope's free translation, Diomed is made to exclaim: —

> "Enough of Trojans to this lance must yield,
> In the full harvest of yon ample field;
> Enough of Greeks shall dye thy spear with gore:
> But thou and Diomed be foes no more.
> Now change we arms, and prove to either host
> We guard the friendship of the line we boast."

89. 30. Late in 1715, the Earl of Mar started a Jacobite movement in Scotland, designed to disseat George I. in favor of the Stuart "Pretender" before the tenure of the Hanoverians should have become secured by lapse of time. The appearance of James Edward in person lent strength to the movement, but he was forced to flee in January, 1716, and the movement speedily collapsed.

97. 9. This was a stratagem of Pope's to gain notoriety by robbing himself of letters from persons of high standing in society, and then raising a "hue and cry" after the thief. He contrived to place letters which had been sent to him by certain peers in the hands of a bookseller named Curll, and then instigated the House of Lords to prosecute Curll for having the "stolen" property in his possession.

97. 19. Five years before Pope's death, Bolingbroke loaned to him the manuscript copies of certain of his political pamphlets, which, if published, would render him obnoxious to those in power. At Pope's death it was discovered that he had secretly had 1500 copies printed, in violation of a pledge made to Bolingbroke.

98. 22. These lines, perhaps the most notable satiric verses in the English language, are to be found in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, ll. 193+, and read as follows: —

> "Peace to all such! but were there one whose fires
> True Genius kindles, and fair Fame inspires;
> Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
> Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,

Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe and a suspicious friend;
Dreading e'en fools, by Flatterers besieg'd,
And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd;
Like *Cato*, give his little Senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While Wits and Templars ev'ry sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise: —
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if ATTICUS were he."

112. 7–8. The **Everlasting Club** (*Spectator*, No. 72) was a club of one hundred members, which was always in session because the twenty-four hours of the day were so distributed among the members that a certain number of them were always present. The **Loves of Hilpa and Shalum** (*Spectator*, Nos. 584, 585) are described in a tale of the early days of creation, when men's lives extended over several centuries. Shalum, after his brother had come "to an untimely end in the two hundred and fortieth year of his age," woed his widow from the tenth to the one hundred and fiftieth year of her widowhood with such arguments as "Remember, O thou daughter of Zilpah, that the age of man is but a thousand years; that beauty is but the admiration of a few centuries." In the end a happy chapter of accidents made him wealthy as well as ardent, and his wooing was crowned with success.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW.

(*References are to the numbered paragraphs of the Essay.*)

Addison (1) **His Biography.** Name the successive public offices which he held. Name the works to which he contributed, and state what share he had in each. What career did he originally choose? What circumstances, political and personal, led to the change in his choice of a profession? (26, 28.) In which career would he find the greater opportunity for exercising his literary gifts? (Cf. the careers of Steele, the politician, and Swift, the churchman.) What traits in Addison's character does it seem likely that he inherited from his ancestors? (6) How did his early training tend to fit him for his literary work? (7) What was the object and what were the benefits derived from his foreign tour? Describe the circumstances regarding his two sojourns in

Ireland (71–74, 121; 127, 128). Show the influence of the Spanish Succession War upon his fortunes (33, 51–54, 60; 91, 92). Show the influence of contemporary English politics upon his career (108, 150). Discuss his work in the British and Irish parliaments, with Macaulay's explanation of his behavior in each (61, 73).

(2) **His Literary Work.** In what respects is the *Campaign* superior to other poems of its class? (54–57.) What are the specific excellencies of Addison's *Tatler* and *Spectator* papers? Of the *Cato*? (109–112.) Of the *Freeholder*? (129.) Describe the origin (96), the plan (99), the contents (100, 101), the success (103) of the *Spectator*. Describe the services of Addison to the nation as a censor of morals (87, 88).

How does Macaulay rate Addison's work in comparison with Steele's? (100, 118.) How does he rate Addison's humor in comparison with that of Swift? (87.) With that of Voltaire? (84–87.) How does he rank the *Cato* in comparison with the classic French drama? (112.) State his estimate of the quality of Addison's style (80); of his wit (81); of his humor (85); of his critical work (102).

(3) **His Friends.** Prepare a sketch of each of the following persons:

Steele: His character (69, 116); his relations with Addison (69, 76, 78, 95, 109, 154–159); his political career (76, 116, 117). *See, also*, Index.

Swift: His life and literary work (Index); the characteristics peculiar to his work (87); his relations with Addison (122–125).

Pope: His life and work (Index); his relations with Addison (114, 115, 130–146); Macaulay's proofs of Addison's integrity in his relations with Pope; instances of Pope's treachery to other friends.

Halifax (Charles Montague): His public services (Index); his influence on Addison's career (26, 28, 42, 43, 45, 52).

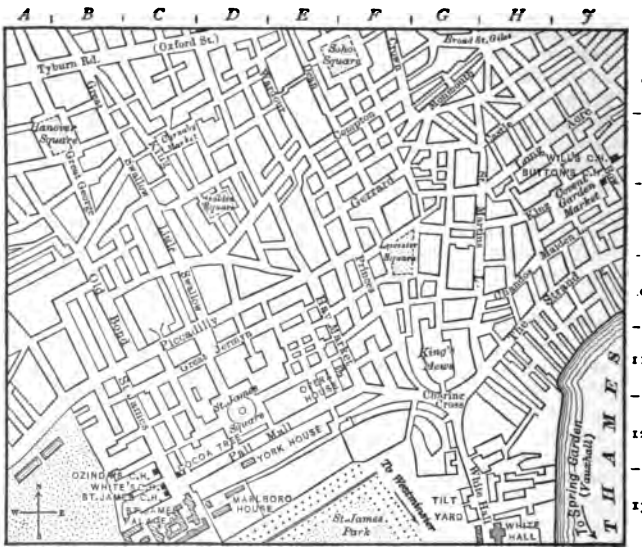
(4) **His Character.** Gather and systematize under appropriate headings the different characteristics attributed by Macaulay to Addison. Determine the exact *quality* alleged to exist, and note in regard to each the *facts* in his behavior or in his writings which prove the existence of that quality. At least three main classes should be considered, — his *virtues*, his *faults*, his *attainments*. Note what Macaulay says or implies of his moral standards (62, 87), his magnanimity to his foes (146), his generosity to his friends (93, 95, 122–127), his modesty (65–66, 113). Weigh the testimony involved in the respect with which his contemporaries regarded him (94, 108–109, 164–165). What two faults does Macaulay attribute to him? (65–66, 113.) How many and what arguments are used by Macaulay to demonstrate that he was not a well-rounded classical scholar? (8, 10–17, 58.) What does Macaulay say of his conversational powers (63, 64), and how does this harmonize with his other characteristics? Describe the close of Addison's life, and show how his behavior at that time illustrates the characteristics which he has attributed to him.

The Age of Queen Anne. What were the characteristic features of the intellectual life of this period? Of the literary productions (subjects, style, taste, spirit)? What themes were most commonly treated? What poetic forms were most popular? What were the relations between the government and the men of letters? What change in the type of government was being completed? How did this affect the fortunes of Addison, Steele, and Swift? What were the leading principles and measures of the party to which Addison belonged? What events gave it control from 1705–1710? What accident gave it the advantage in 1714? What were the relations between England and the various continental powers during this reign? How closely was the intellectual life of England in touch with that on the Continent? What was the leading factor in social life during this age? What part does this factor play in Addison's literary career, and what influence did he exert upon it?

The Essay. Of what book is this essay a review? What adverse criticisms does Macaulay make upon that book? How does his treatment of his theme illustrate his characteristic method as a reviewer? What attitude does he assume toward female writers? What qualities should you judge that he would consider requisite to an ideal biography, judging by his criticisms of Miss Aikin's work? What qualities does he elsewhere demand? (Int., pp. ix–xii.) How far does this essay seem to you to meet these requirements? What elements of style are noticeable in Macaulay's work?

Does Macaulay betray an exhaustive and intimate knowledge of Addison's life and character? Do his references, allusions, and illustrations display erudition? Wit? Originality? Are they drawn chiefly from classic mythology, ancient literature, or modern life? Does Macaulay assume wide or profound or limited knowledge on the part of the reader? From his discussion of Addison's classical erudition (10–17, 58) and his description of Addison's foreign tour (35–40), what should you conclude in regard to Macaulay's classical scholarship? Does the essay seem to you to be written in a judicial or in a partisan spirit?

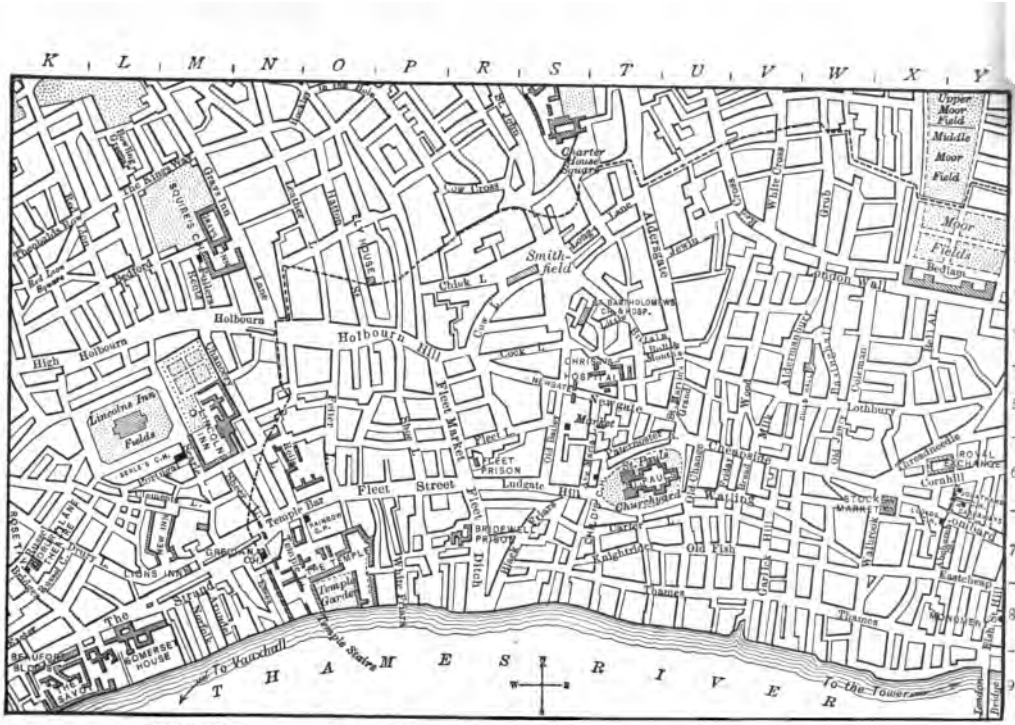
Compare the essay on *Addison* with that on *Milton*, as regards structure, style, and matter. In which does Macaulay adhere the more closely to his ostensible subject? In which does he employ ornament the more freely? In which does he enunciate the more striking and original propositions? Which has the more artificial method of treatment? Note especially the methods of opening and of closing the two essays.



LONDON IN 1720—COVENT GARDEN AND WESTWARD.

By employing a ruler to determine the boundaries of the lettered and numbered sections, the following places may be located.

Charter House, *S*, 1, 2
Cock Lane, *R*, *S*, 4.
Coffee Houses:
  Button's, *J*, 8.
  Child's, *T*, 6.
  Garraway's, *Y*, 7.
  Grecian, *N*, 8.
  Jonathan's, *Y*, 6.
  St. James, *C*, 13.
  Will's, *J*, 8.
Gray's Inn, *M*, 3.
Grub St., *W*, 2.
Holborn Hill, *P*, 4.
Leicester Square, *F*, 9.
Milton's Homes:
  Birthplace, Bread St., *V*, 6.
  St. Bride's, Fleet St., *P*, 6.
  Aldersgate St., *V*, 3.
  Barbican, *V*, 2.
  Charing Cross, *G*, 12.
  Jewin St., *U*, 3.
  Burial place, St. Giles', *V*, 3.
Royal Exchange, *X*, *Y*, 6.
St. Paul's, *T*, 6.
The Temple, *O*, 7, 8.
Theatres:
  Covent Garden, *J*, 8.
  Drury Lane, *K*, 7.
  Haymarket, *E*, *F*, 11.



LONDON IN 1720—FROM COVENT GARDEN EASTWARD TO LONDON BRIDGE.

EXPLANATORY INDEX.

Abgarus: King of Edessa, a city of Northern Mesopotamia. Eusebius (*q.v.*) introduces into his history a letter purporting to have been written by Agbarus to Jesus Christ, requesting the latter to come to him and heal his sickness. It was stated that Jesus refused to do so, but offered to send one of his disciples.

Absalom and Ahitophel: a satire by Dryden on the politicians of the reign of James II., including Buckingham, Shaftesbury, etc.

Academy: the Académie Française was founded in 1635, when Cardinal Richelieu transformed an existing organization of poets into a national institution, created for the purpose of securing in the French language the qualities of purity, richness, and refinement. To carry out this purpose, it pledged itself to compile a dictionary and other technical works. In its capacity as arbiter in questions of the disputed pronunciation, spelling, etc., of French words, it performs a public service for which no similar English body exists.

Achilles: the chief warrior of the allied armies that conducted the siege of Troy. His quarrel with the commander Agamemnon, his grief at the death of his friend Patroclus, and his terrible revenge therefor, which brought about the death of the Trojan champion, Hector, and the fall of Troy, form the subject of Homer's *Iliad*. In a paroxysm of anger at Patroclus's death, he performs the feat referred to in ¶ 54, which is described in *Iliad*, XXI., 1–16.

Act: in the University of Oxford, candidates for degrees were in the habit of presenting at their graduation a thesis, or statement of some philosophical truth, the truth of which they were prepared to maintain in debate against any disputant. This performance was technically known as their "Act." The term as used by Macaulay means the "Commencement" exercises of the University.

Æneid: a Latic epic poem, by Virgil, treating of the adventures of Æneas, who (according to Virgil's narrative) fled from the sack of Troy and with a few ships sailed to Italy, landed near the Tiber, and, after a long conquest with the native tribes of Rutulians, laid the foundations of the Roman nation. As it is one of the two greatest epic poems of antiquity, its translation has been the favorite task of ambitious poets.

Aikin, Lucy (1781–1864): author of several biographies, and *Memoirs of the Courts of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I.*

Akenside, Mark (1721–1770): a popular English physician and poet. The theme of his didactic poem, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, was suggested by the "Essays on Imagination," in Addison's *Spectator*. It was first published in 1744, and was recast in 1757. His *Epistle to Curio*, published in 1744, was originally a poem in the ten-syllabled rhymed verse of Pope's school, but was republished under the title of *Ode to Curio*, in 1744, with its form changed to that of the Spencerian stanza.

Albula: a sulphur stream four miles from Tivoli.

Alcaics: lyric poems in the peculiar metre employed by Alcæus, a Greek poet who flourished about 600 B.C.

Alfieri (1749–1803): the greatest Italian dramatist. He composed fourteen tragedies, of which *Saul* was his masterpiece.

Amadeus II. (1665–1732): Duke of "Savoy," one of the principalities of the Holy Roman Empire. His predecessors had suffered many losses of territory from French aggressions, and had waged numerous wars in attempted reprisals. Amadeus generally ranged himself among the foes of Louis XIV., but more than once traitorously changed sides and threw his influence in Louis's favor. In 1692, for example, he was serving as commander-in-chief of the troops of Austria in the war of the Palatinate, but was induced by a bribe from Louis XIV. to espouse the cause of the French. He was a claimant for the throne of Spain, and, in the Spanish Succession War, he lost his estates and fled to Italy, where his distant cousin, Prince Eugene of Savoy, was serving as commander of the imperial forces engaged in wresting from Spain her Italian possessions. By the peace of Utrecht (1714) he gained, as his share of the spoils, the island of Sicily, with the title of king.

Appian Way: the famous road connecting Rome with various portions of Southern Italy, constructed by Appius Claudius Cæcus (313 B.C.) and his successors.

Arbuthnot, Dr. John (1667–1735), was one of the ablest of the coterie of brilliant writers who shed glory upon the reign of Queen Anne, to whom he was physician-extraordinary. His writings comprise scientific treatises and satires on political and social subjects, *e.g.* *The Art of Lying in Politics* and *The History of John Bull.*

Ariosto (1474–1533): an Italian poet and statesman. He lived at Ferrara, twenty-six miles northeast of Bologna, where he wrote his epic poem, *Orlando Furioso.* This was intended as a companion poem to the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo (*q.v.*). The subject of the former is the chivalrous exploits of Roland, nephew of Charlemagne, and its romantic character gives free play to those tendencies of the poet toward florid description, to which Macaulay refers.

Arne, Dr. Thomas (1710–1778), was an English musician, celebrated not only for his compositions, but for his connection with persons

of more note than himself. He set to music the lyrical numbers in Milton's *Comus*, composed the musical setting of the famous patriotic lyric, *Rule Britannia*, and wrote the music for several operas, of which Addison's *Rosamond* is the most important.

Athalie: a tragedy based on Jewish history, composed by Racine (*q.v.*).

Athanasian Mysteries: Athanasius (296–373 A.D.) was the chief bishop of Alexandria, and opposer of Arius (*q.v.*) at the Council of Nicea, 325. He upheld the doctrine that the three persons in the divine Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are absolutely one, equal, and coeternal. The effort to conceive rationally the nature and relations of this mysterious "Three in One" has occupied the intellects of orthodox Christians until the present day. Dacier (1651–1722), librarian to Louis XIV., published a translation of Plato's works, in which he endeavored to trace a kinship between his mystic doctrines and those of Athanasius.

Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of Rochester (1662–1732), was the leading Tory Churchman of his age. He had a part in the Phalaris controversy (*see* Boyle, Charles), and in the Sacheverell agitation. (*See* Int., p. xxiii.) He was finally banished from England for treasonous conspiracies with the Jacobites.

Attic Dramatists: Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (*q.v*).

Atticus (109–32 B.C.): a highly cultivated Roman writer and historian. He held aloof from practical politics and from severe literary labor, adopting the attitude of a calm and dispassionate observer of men and books. His literary taste was unquestioned, even the polished Cicero (*q.v.*) submitting to his judgment. The similarity between his character and that which Pope wished to impute to Addison, led Pope to employ the name "Atticus" as a veiled method of referring to Addison in his celebrated satirical attack on Addison. (*See* A., ¶ 145, and note, p. 120.) This satire, printed first as a lampoon in 1723, was afterward published in a collection of miscellaneous writings by Pope in 1727, and still later, in 1735, was engrafted into the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (*q.v.*).

Augustan Age: an age in the history of any country made remarkable by the excellence of the literature produced therein is likely to be called the Augustan Age of that country, because it holds a place in its general history like that which the age of Augustus Cæsar (42 B.C.–14 A.D.) holds in Roman history. During his reign epic and lyric poetry and history all attained a high degree of excellence in the works of Virgil, Horace, and Livy.

Ausonius (310–394): a minor Roman writer of light verse, *e.g.* his idyll on the Moselle River.

Bayle, Pierre (1647–1706): author of a *Historical and Critical Dictionary of the French Language* (1696, 2 vols.), which was bitterly attacked as irreligious.

Benacus: the old name of Lake Garda, the largest lake in Italy. It lies between Venice and Lombardy, the district in which Virgil's early life was spent, and its scenery is employed as a background in his poetry. In his *Georgics*, II, 160, he refers to Lake Benacus, as "tossing in billows, with a roaring as of the sea."

Bentinck: the greatness of the "House of Bentinck" dates from the Revolution, when William III. created his friend William Bentinck, of Holland, Earl of Portland. Since that time the House has produced several statesmen of ability and high repute.

Bentley, Richard (1662–1742): the head of Trinity College, Cambridge, surpassed all his contemporaries in the extent and variety of his learning. This was proved in the famous discussion with Boyle and his adherents in which Bentley demonstrated the spurious character of the alleged Greek *Epistles of Phalaris*. (*See* Boyle.)

Berni, Francis (1490–1536): a satirical poet of Italy.

Bettesworth: a lawyer lampooned by Swift for his mediocre legal attainments and his presumption in assuming equality with eminent members of the English bar.

Bickerstaff: a pseudonym employed by Dean Swift in his famous controversy with John Partridge. This man had for thirty years published an almanac containing various unscientific predictions. Swift, seizing the opportunity to indulge his satirical gift, published an almanac for the year 1708, including among his predictions the statement that the death of Partridge would take place on March 29, at ten o'clock. For two years after this date he insisted in various published communications that Partridge had died at the set time, using Partridge's own predictions to verify his assertions, although his victim (who took the whole matter seriously) wrote frantic articles for the press to prove his own existence. The name "Bickerstaff" was afterward adopted by Steele as a *nom de plume*.

Blackmore, Sir Richard (1650–1729): a physician, the author of unimportant works on theology and politics, and author of seven long poems, of which the *Creation* is the most important.

Blair, Dr. (1718–1800): Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh, was the author of well-known but weak treatises on the rules of literary composition and the principles of good taste in literature.

Blenheim: a village in Bavaria on the Danube River, the scene of Marlborough's brilliant victory in 1704.

Blois: a city of France, about one hundred miles southwest of Paris, where several French monarchs have had country residences.

Boccaccio, Giovanni (1313–1375): a celebrated Italian poet and romancer. His tales have furnished plots for the greatest English writers, such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dryden, etc.

Boiardo (1430–1494): one of the greater Italian poets. His *Orlando*

Innamorato, a long romantic poem, passed through sixteen editions in half a century, and was the source whence Ariosto derived the characters of the still more celebrated *Orlando Furioso*.

Boileau, Nicholas (1636–1711): a French poet and essayist, who exerted a marked influence upon the style and character of Pope's writings. The latter's *Essay on Criticism* is an imitation of Boileau's *D'Art Poetique*, and both he and Pope produced epistles in imitation of Horace. Both were dominated by the aim to preserve in their writings elegance and sobriety of form, wit and vigor of expression.

Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount B. (1678–1751): a noted philosopher and Tory statesman. As Henry St. John, he was Secretary of War from the period of the Blenheim campaign (1704) to the year 1708, when the growing Whig influence in Parliament forced his retirement. With Harley (*q.v.*) he intrigued to destroy the influence of Marlborough and end the Spanish Succession War, and he became Foreign Secretary in 1710, on the downfall of the Whigs. (*See* Int., p. xxiii.) He was now created Viscount Bolingbroke, and did a great service to his country by negotiating the Peace of Utrecht. He intrigued successfully for the overthrow of Harley, but unsuccessfully to prevent the Hanoverian succession (*see* Int., p. xxiv), and was obliged to flee into exile. Later, gaining permission to return to England, he began a newspaper war upon the Whig ministry in the *Craftsman*, and in various pamphlets, but spent much of his time in the study of literature and philosophy with Pope, Swift, etc.

Booth, Barton (1681–1723): joint manager with Colley Cibber of Drury Lane Theatre (*q.v.*), was the greatest actor of Addison's day. His articulation is praised in Pope's *Imitation of Horace*, Bk. II., Ep. 1 ("well-mouthed Booth"), while the effect of his appearance in the title rôle of Addison's Cato is satirized in the same epistle:—

> "Booth enters — Hark! the universal peal!
> But has he spoken? Not a syllable.
> 'What shook the stage, and made the people stare?'
> Cato's long wig, flower'd gown, and lacquered chair."

Boswell, James (1740–1795): a Scotch lawyer, who won immortal fame by his biography of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in which are presented the most minute and faithful details of Johnson's conversation and personal characteristics.

Bottom: a character in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He was an Athenian weaver, whose head was transformed into that of an ass through the magic arts of the mischievous fairy Puck. While Bottom was in this condition, Titania, queen of the fairies,

was led through Puck's mischievous devices to fall in love with him under the delusion that he was beautiful. (See *M. N. D.*, III., 1.)

Bourbon, House of: the family that held the royal dignity in France from 1589 to 1793, and later from 1815 to 1830.

Bourne, Vincent (1695–1747): an usher in the Westminster School who won great praise for his Latin poetry. It was claimed by Cowper that he excelled even the minor Roman poets.

Boyle, Charles (1676–1731): Earl of Orrery. When a student in Cambridge University he published the edition of the *Epistles of Phalaris* over which occurred the controversy with Bentley (*q.v.*). These epistles, one hundred forty-eight in number, were first published in the original Greek at Venice in 1498, but purported to be the production of Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily during the sixth century before Christ. Boyle, in his edition, assumed them to be genuine antique relics of great value. Unfortunately, he went out of his way to attack Bentley, librarian of the King's library, for alleged attempts to put difficulties in the way of their publication, and Bentley published a reply, in which he presented apparently conclusive proofs that the epistles are of comparatively modern origin. The scholars of Oxford University, who had encouraged Boyle to publish the epistles, took up his cause, and the controversy raged for more than two years.

Boyle, Henry (died 1725): was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1701 to 1708, in which year he became Secretary of State. Having gone out of office with the Whigs, he was restored to power in 1714, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Carleton.

Boyne, Battle of (July 1, 1690): the battle which, by the defeat of James II., gave to William III. the mastery of Ireland.

Bradamante: a female warrior, a heroine in the poem of *Orlando Furioso*. For the incident referred to in the *Essay on Addison*, ¶ 1, see *Orlando Furioso*, XLV., 68.

Brunel's Mill: Sir Marc Isambard Brunel (1769–1849) was the engineer who planned and constructed the first tunnel under the Thames River. His invention of a machine for turning pulley blocks was of great importance to English ship-builders, since the necessity of securing absolute accuracy in the proportions of those blocks made their production by hand very expensive.

Brunswick, House of: The Hanoverian kings were descendants from William, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1569).

Bruyère, Jean de la (1645–1696), French teacher, was also a student and analyst of human nature. He published *Caracteres ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle*, partly a translation from the Greek of Theophrastus, partly a study of contemporary persons and manners.

Buchanan, George (1506–1582), because of his fine classical scholar-

ship was made tutor first to Mary of Scots, and afterward to her son, James VI. He wrote much Latin verse.

Budgell, Eustace (1685–1736): a relative and protégé of Addison. His claim to literary fame rests on his connection with Addison's *Spectator* and *Tatler*, to which he contributed thirty-seven papers, most of them signed X. He lost his property in the disastrous South Sea speculation (*see* Int., p. xxv), failed to secure an election to Parliament, forged a will to retrieve his fortunes, was discovered, and committed suicide by drowning in the Thames River, leaving this justifying message to the world, — "What Cato did, and Addison approved, cannot be wrong." The reference is to Cato's soliloquy on self-murder, introduced by Addison into his play of *Cato*. (See *Cato*, Marcus Porcius.)

Butler, Dr. Samuel (1612–1680): author of *Hudibras*, a mock-heroic poem written in ridicule of the excesses and follies of Puritanism as seen by a Royalist and Churchman. The poem relies for its effect on quaint and ingenious collocations of ideas and unusual rhymes, *e.g.*: —

> "And pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
> Was beat with fist instead of a stick."

Callimachus (3d century B.C.): a Greek poet, librarian of the Alexandrian Library. He was the author of eight hundred works, including elegies, stories (*Causes*), epigrams, and hymns.

Canning, George (1770–1827): an English statesman. (*See* p. xxvii.)

Capreæ: a beautiful island at the entrance of the Bay of Naples, Here the Emperor Tiberius built twelve villas, the ruins of which are still visible.

Capuchins: the nickname given to the members of the Franciscan Order of Monks; so named from the small hood (capuchon) which formed a distinctive portion of their dress.

Carnival: strictly speaking, the carnival is the period from the seventh of January to midnight of Shrove Tuesday. At the latter time begins Lent, a period set apart by the Roman Catholic Church for self-denial and abstinence from pleasures. In popular use the word "carnival" is applied to the last three or four days of the period, which, especially in Italian cities, are given up to wild revelry, as a farewell to the pleasures soon to be renounced.

Catinat (1637–1712), Marshal of France, and a leading commander during the War of the Spanish Succession, was defeated by Eugene of Savoy at Carpi during the struggle for the control of the Spanish possessions in Italy.

Cato, Marcus Porcius (95 B.C.–46 A.D.), the hero of Addison's drama of *Cato*, was a Roman statesman celebrated for marked ability, and for his upright character. He bravely denounced the supposed

complicity of Julius Cæsar in the conspiracy of Catiline, and became an adherent of Pompey in his struggle for supremacy against Cæsar, fearing the effect on popular liberty of the latter's growing power. After Pompey's death he fled to Africa and shared with Metellus Scipio the leadership of the troops remaining there. After the overthrow of Scipio at Thapsus, Cato preferred death to continuance in life, and after spending the night reading Plato's Dialogue upon the immortality of the soul, he committed suicide by stabbing himself in the breast.

Catullus (87–54 B.C.): a Roman lyric poet whose epigrams and love poems are unrivalled in their exquisite grace and beauty.

Cenis, Mont: the site of an Alpine road from Savoy to Piedmont, built by Napoleon I. between 1802 and 1810.

Censorship of the Press: From the Reformation until 1693 a system had prevailed in England requiring publications to be licensed by a Censor. In that year the House of Commons voted not to renew the act under which the system was perpetuated, and no censorship has since been exercised. Under the Censorship, no newspaper, except the *Gazette* (*q.v.*), was published.

Cervantes (1547–1616): author of the satirical romance, *Don Quixote*, the most notable piece of character delineation in Spanish literature.

Chandos, Duke of: the subject of one of Pope's lampoons. This lampoon comprises lines 99–172 of the fourth of the *Moral Essays*, the Duke of Chandos being represented under the guise of Timon, a rich spendthrift, with pretensions to learning and benevolence, but wholly lacking in taste and judgment.

Charter House: an endowed charitable hospital and school founded in London in 1611, for the education of the sons of poor gentlemen.

Chatham, Wm. Pitt, Earl of (1708–1778): called the Great Commoner. Pitt entered Parliament in 1735, and rose rapidly to the position of Leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons. He was successively Paymaster of the Forces, Secretary of State, and Lord Privy Seal, acting also in the latter case as Prime Minister. In 1766 he was created Earl of Chatham, and two years later retired from political office because of ill health.

Chelsea: formerly a rural suburb of London, lying four miles southwest of the Old City.

Chirk: a town in Denbighshire in North Wales.

Chevy Chase: a popular early English ballad which deals with a border contest between Lord Percy and the Douglas.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106–43 B.C.): the most polished orator and essayist of the classical period of Roman letters. He wrote numerous orations and innumerable epistles, all marked by extreme elegance of expression and perfection of form.

Cinna: an historical tragedy by Corneille, the greatest French tragic dramatist.

Circe: An enchantress of ancient mythology, who was fabled to dwell on an island in the Mediterranean, near Italy. She offered to her victims a magic potion which transformed those who drank it into swine. Ulysses, a Greek hero, however, received from the god Hermes an herb which formed an antidote to the drug. Circe's promontory is the promontory of Circeii, in Latium, now called Monte Circello. Since at a distance it appears like an island, tradition identified it with the island mentioned above.

Clarendon (1608–1674): Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, was a leading statesman of the Restoration. (*See* p. xvii.) He wrote a *History of the Great Rebellion*, notable for its graphic anecdotes, its keen analysis of motives, and its masterly portraiture of character.

Claudian (about 400 A.D.), the latest of the great Latin poets, was considered by his contemporaries the peer of Homer and Virgil.

Clubs and Coffee Houses: A unique feature of society during the reign of Queen Anne was the prevalence of clubs. These served the combined ends fulfilled in later days by newspapers, magazines of literary criticism, societies, clubs, and associations for promoting culture or for furthering the interests of persons engaged in the same business. The clubs met generally in rooms reserved for them at coffee houses, another of the characteristic products of the social life of the period. These were places of public resort where tea, coffee, wines, and more substantial refreshments were served to the frequenters, where the regular periodicals, like the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, and the more recent ephemeral sheets, like the *Conduct of the Allies*, were to be seen fresh from the press, furnishing abundant subject for discussion.

The names, locations, and characteristics of the leading clubs and coffee houses were as follows: —

BUTTON'S COFFEE HOUSE, in Covent Garden, was a favorite resort of Addison, Steele, Pope, Swift, and other literary men.

CHILD'S COFFEE HOUSE was in St. Paul's Churchyard, and was the meeting place of clergymen, especially ardent High Churchmen, and members of the other learned professions.

THE COCOA TREE was the resort of the Tory politicians.

GARRAWAY'S COFFEE HOUSE was in Exchange Alley, and by its contiguity to the Stock Exchange attracted brokers and merchants.

THE GRECIAN, the earliest of these houses (dating from 1652), was located in Devereux Court, and derived its name from the nationality of its proprietor. It was the gathering place of men of a quiet, reflective temper, and was the scene of many philosophical discussions. These facts were so well known that the

editor of the *Tatler* (*see* Periodicals) significantly dated all his more learned papers from the Grecian.

JONATHAN'S, in Change Alley, named from its keeper, was the rendezvous of stock-brokers and bankers.

THE KIT CAT CLUB, the most celebrated club of the day, consisted of about forty prominent Whigs, who met at a mutton-pie house kept by Christopher Cat, in Shire Lane. Among the members were Walpole, Congreve, Addison, and Steele. Each member at his admission celebrated in verse the praises of the lady whom he had chosen for his "toast," and this verse was subsequently engraved upon his drinking-glass. Addison's "toast" was the Countess of Manchester (*see* ¶ 29), and the verse read as follows: —

> "While haughty Gallia's dames, that spread
> O'er their pale cheeks an artful red,
> Beheld this beauteous stranger there,
> In native charms divinely fair;
> Confusion in their looks they shew'd,
> And with unborrow'd blushes glow'd."

THE OCTOBER CLUB consisted of one hundred and fifty Tories and High Churchmen, of whom perhaps the most noted was Dean Swift (*q.v.*). Its name perpetuates the fame of its excellent October ale. From it the *Tatler* dated his political news.

ST. JAMES' COFFEE HOUSE was a resort of Whig politicians. It was the headquarters of the *Spectator*.

WILL'S COFFEE HOUSE, in Covent Garden, named from its proprietor, William Unwin, was the resort of those who made special pretence to wit and fashion. Here Dryden held court, and promulgated the laws of poetic composition. From this house were dated the literary items in the *Tatler*.

Cock Lane Ghost (1762): This is one of the most celebrated hoaxes ever perpetrated upon a credulous public. It is supposed that the daughter of one Parsons, owner of a house in Cock Lane, Smithfield, first amused herself by making mysterious sounds with a board which she had concealed in bed. This gave rise to rumors that the house was haunted, and Parsons, seeking notoriety and profit, induced the girl to continue the deception, and gave definiteness to the rumors by alleging that the ghost was that of a Mrs. Kent, whom he alleged to have been murdered by her husband. On the exposure of the hoax, Parsons was pilloried for imposture.

Collects: brief, comprehensive prayers, in a liturgy, as distinguished from prayers appealing for specific blessings.

Collier, Jeremy, Bishop (1650–1726), was a stern critic of the vices of

the stage after the Restoration. He published, in 1698, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage.*

Commentaries: an autobiographical account by Caius Julius Cæsar (100–44 B.C.) of his campaigns in Gaul.

Congreve, William (1670–1729): a dramatist of the age of Queen Anne, especially noted for his brilliancy in dialogue.

Convocation: a body of ecclesiastics of the Church of England, sitting for the purpose of legislating on church matters. The Convocation of 1689 thwarted the will of William III., who desired so to change the oaths and ritual of the State Church as to bring within its organization all dissenting Protestant clergymen.

Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684), the greatest tragic dramatist in France, was the author of *The Cid*, *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, and other historical dramas in the classical style, besides several comedies.

Covent Garden was originally the garden of the Convent at Westminster. It lies between Westminster and the Old City of London, and is now noted for its market for fruit and flowers, and for its theatre. (*See* map, p. 124.)

Cowley, Dr. Abraham (1618–1667): an English minor poet, author of many poems exhibiting some ability, but tedious. They include many odes and one epic, the *Davideis*.

Cowper, William (1664–1723): a Whig statesman, who held the position of Lord Chancellor under Anne from 1705–1710.

Cowper, William (1731–1800): one of the tenderest and sweetest of England's minor poets, a man of remarkable delicacy and sensitiveness of spirit. All his more important poems, *The Task*, *John Gilpin's Ride*, *The Translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey*, were due to suggestions made by friends, which were seized upon by his sensitive nature and elaborated by his genius.

Coyer, L'Abbe (1707–1782): tutor to the Prince of Turenne, and author of several sportive and serious works, *Decouverte de l'Isle Frivole*, *Les Bagatelles Morales*, etc.

Craggs, Addison's successor as Secretary of State, died in 1721. It was in a letter to Craggs written in 1715 that the first prose draft of Pope's *Character of Atticus* (*q.v.*) originally appeared.

Curll, Edmund (1675–1745), was a bookseller of the age of Queen Anne, noted because of his relations with Pope, Bolingbroke, and other prominent men.

Dante (1265–1321) was the greatest Italian poet. His chief work was *The Divine Comedy*, an epic poem in three parts, the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, and the *Paradiso*, treating of the penalties of sin, the process of purification, and the state of the redeemed in heaven.

Dennis, John (1657–1734): a dramatist and literary critic. Himself a worse than mediocre writer, he vented his spite at his own failure to win praise by savage attacks on Pope, Addison, and other

authors more successful than himself. (*See* Pope's *Dunciad*, I., 106.)

Dickens, Charles (1812–1870): English novelist. This essay was published in 1843 when *The Pickwick Papers*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and *Barnaby Rudge* had made Dickens's popularity assured; but his strongest and ripest work, in *David Copperfield*, *Little Dorrit*, and *The Tale of Two Cities*, had not yet been given to the world.

Doria: The family of Doria was the leading house in Genoa for many generations. Andrea Doria (1466–1560) was the most noted naval commander in Italian history, defending his native state against her Italian rivals (Venice and Pisa), and against the aggressions of foreign powers (France, Germany, and the Turks).

Dorset, Charles Sackville, Earl of (1637–1706), was a courtier and patron of the fine arts, and composed mediocre satires and songs.

Drury Lane: celebrated for more than two hundred years as the site of one of the best-known London theatres. (*See* map, p. 125.)

Dryden, John (1631–1700), Poet Laureate of England, was the acknowledged head of English men of letters in the generation that followed Milton. He gave shape to the new literary movement toward scrupulous perfection of technique (due to the influence of the French school of Corneille, Racine, and Boileau) that culminated in the work of Pope and Addison. He was the author of the most brilliant satires in the language (*Absalom and Ahitophel*, *MacFlecknoe*), of numerous religious and political poems (*Religio Laici*, *The Hind and the Panther*), and of many tragedies and translations. The latter included not only works in foreign tongues (*e.g. The Æneid*), but also English works written in a form or style counter to the prevailing taste. His life was disturbed by reason of his attitude toward the political troubles of the time, but his literary supremacy was undisputed. Among his attempts to "modernize" early works is included an opera called *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, based on *Paradise Lost*. For this attempt Milton had given the cynical permission, "Ay, you may tag my verses."

Dubois, Cardinal (1656–1723): Tutor of the Duke of Orleans (the nephew of Louis XIV.), and his political adviser while he held the position of Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV.

Duenna: a comedy by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, produced in 1775.

Duke, Richard (1655–1707): a third-rate theologian and poet.

Dunciad: Alexander Pope's most ambitious satire, first published in 1728. It was a poem originally in three volumes, later expanded to four, and was directed against the quarrelsome horde of lesser literary writers and critics who ventured to dispute Pope's decisions in literary matters, or to criticise his own work. It was constructed as a mock-epic poem, celebrating the glory of the reign of the

"King of Dulness," Lewis Theobald, with whom Pope quarrelled over their rival editions of Shakespeare's works. In the revised edition (1742), Theobald was displaced, and Colley Cibber, the object of Pope's latest antipathy, was raised to the position of hero.

Dunkirk, the extreme northern town on the coast of France, was captured by the English in 1651, and was restored to France by Charles II. in 1662 for four million pounds.

Eldon, Lord (1751–1838): Lord Chancellor of England during most of the period between 1801–1827. He was not an able statesman, but held his position by virtue of his strict adherence to the conservative Tory principles, especially in their opposition to religious reforms. He resented the liberalism of Canning, and resigned when the latter became chief of the ministry in 1827. (*See* p. xxvii.)

Electoral Prince of Hanover: the great grandson of James I. who ascended the throne of England as George I. (*See* p. xxiv.)

Erasmus (1467–1536): an eminent Dutch scholar and writer, and a master of the classical tongues, all his productions being in Latin.

Etherege, Sir George (1636–1690): one of the corrupt dramatists of the Restoration. The character of his work may be judged by the title of his leading drama, *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*.

Eugene, Prince, of Savoy (1663–1736): leading imperial general in the Spanish Succession War, in which he wrested Italy from the French under Catinat (*q.v.*). His visit to England in 1711 to urge a continuance of the alliance against Louis XIV. is referred to in the *Spectator*, No. 269.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.): the latest of the trio of great Greek tragic dramatists (Sophocles, Æschylus, Euripides). He wrote about eighty dramas, of which the *Electra* is one; eighteen still exist.

Faustina: the name of two Roman empresses of the second century, both of notoriously corrupt character. One was the wife of Antoninus Pius, and the other was her daughter, wife of the philosopher and moralist, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Fielding, Henry (1707–1754): with Dr. Samuel Richardson, the creator of the modern "novel" as a literary type. His most celebrated novel is *Tom Jones*. The hero of this novel is in love with Sophia Western, whose father, Squire Western, is a typical British country gentleman of the old school. *Amelia*, which followed *Tom Jones*, is the story of a woman whose fidelity and tenderness elevate and finally redeem the character of her worthless husband, Booth.

Filicaja, Vincenzio (1642–1707): a Florentine poet, author of brilliant patriotic odes and sonnets; but certainly *not* the greatest lyric poet of modern times, as asserted in ¶ 58 of the *Essay on Addison*.

Fox, Henry (1705–1774): a parliamentary opponent of William Pitt. He was Secretary of War in 1746, and Paymaster of the Forces in 1757. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Holland in 1762.

Fox, Charles James (1749–1806): son of the preceding; a leading statesman of the period of the American revolution. For the character of both, *see* Macaulay's *Essay on Lord Holland.*

Fracastorius, Hieronymus (1483–1553): (the Latin equivalent of Fracastoro Girolamo) a physician of Verona, author of poems and medical works written exclusively in the Latin tongue.

Fraguier, Père (1666–1728): a French savant and classical scholar, a member of the French Academy (*q.v.*). He wrote historical and literary dissertations, and various Latin poems.

Frederick the Great (1712–1786), king of Prussia, was an ardent admirer of French culture, and sought in every way to foster it in Prussia. He composed several works in French, and encouraged Voltaire, Diderot, and other learned Frenchmen to take up their abode at his court.

Garth, Sir Samuel (1660–1719): a poet and physician, a member of the Kit Cat Club, and a friend of Addison, for whose *Cato* he furnished the epilogue.

Garter, Order of the: an English order of knighthood, membership in which may be conferred by the sovereign as a mark of especial honor. Among the knights are included the sovereign and the princes of the blood royal.

Gay, John (1685–1731), a friend of Pope and Swift, was the author of several humorous poems and plays. As his literary work furnished him but a scanty living, he added to his income by serving as secretary, first to the Duchess of Manchester, and later to Lord Clarendon. He also sought the patronage of the Hanoverians on their accession to the throne. His *Beggars' Opera*, published in 1727, brought him fame and money.

Gazette: the London *Gazette* was a publication founded in 1665 as the organ of the Government for the publication of official announcements, legal notices, political intelligence, etc. It was owned by the Government, and conducted by a Government appointee.

Genoa: a state in northwestern Italy. It was subject to France from 1499–1528, when its independence was won under the leadership of Andrea Doria (*q.v.*). From that time until the French Revolution its government was republican in form, although oligarchic in essence. Its chief officers bore the ancient title of Doge (or Duke).

Georgics: a poem of rural life, by Virgil. It is divided into four books, treating of the cultivation of the soil, the propagation of trees and vines, the raising of horses and cattle, and the care of bees.

Godolphin, Sidney, Earl of (1645–1712), because of his extraordinary financial abilities, held practical control of the finances of England during the administrations of Charles II., William III., and Anne. Godolphin espoused the cause of James II. against William, and, adhering to his Tory principles, was removed from office during

the latter part of William's reign, when the Whig party was in the ascendant. After Anne's accession he was made Lord High Treasurer, and held this office until 1710, when the growing power of his rival, Harley (*q.v.*), forced his dismissal.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang (1749–1832): the greatest genius in the history of German literature. The dramatic poem of *Faust*, his masterpiece, is a profound study of the strife of man's soul with his own nature, expressed in terms of the old German *Faust-legend*. In this legend, Faust, desirous of sounding every depth of human experience, sells his soul to Mephistopheles, the Spirit of Evil, on condition that the supernatural powers of the demon shall be at his command for a term of years.

Granville, George (1667–1735): a Tory statesman and poet. He was Secretary of War in 1710, and intrigued for the restoration of the Stuarts in 1714. He was the author of two plays (*Heroic Love*, *The British Enchantress*) and some unimportant verse.

Gray, Thomas (1716–1771), was the author of some of the noblest reflective poetry in the English language. He had a lofty poetic imagination, profound classical scholarship, and a sensitive taste. He aimed at Greek perfection of style, and showed the influence of Greek literary models in his *Pindaric Odes* and his *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*.

Grub Street, now called Milton Street, was for many years the habitat of impecunious men of letters, who eked out their income by doing piece-work for publishers, such as compiling books of reference, making indexes, copying manuscripts, etc. (*See* map, p. 125.)

Gwynn, Eleanor (1650–1687): an actress of the Restoration and a favorite of Charles II. He seems to have conceived for her a genuine affection, as almost his latest words were an expression of solicitude lest she should suffer from want after his death.

Hale, Sir Matthew (1609–1676): Lord Chief Justice of England under Charles II., and a notable pattern of uprightness in an age of corruption, both in his official career and in his ethical writings.

Halifax, Charles Montague, Earl of (1661–1715): a Whig statesman, financier, and patron of letters. His devices for raising money for the wars of William III. (*see* pp. xix, xx) led to the beginning of the English national debt, and to the establishment of the Bank of England. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer under William III., was out of power during the Tory ascendency under Anne and was restored to power only at her death. He served as Prime Minister from the accession of George I. until his own death in 1715.

Hamilton, Gerard (1729–1796), a member of the House of Commons, was popularly known as "Single-speech Hamilton," because in 1765 he delivered one brilliant oration, and with one exception never again attempted to address the House.

Hampton Court Palace: a royal residence situated in the village of Hampton, on the Thames, fifteen miles southwest of London. It was built by Cardinal Wolsey and presented by him to King Henry VIII., and was used as a royal residence by all the later Tudor and Stuart monarchs.

Harley, Robert, Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), was a politician rather than a statesman, but exerted a strong influence upon Queen Anne during part of her reign. Originally holding office, first as Speaker and later as Secretary of State in the Whig Ministry of Godolphin, he intrigued with the Tories to overthrow his chief, and in 1710 had gained enough influence to secure his dismissal. A year later Harley was made Lord High Treasurer in a Tory ministry, and bent his efforts toward bringing the Spanish Succession War (a Whig war) to a close. In 1714 his late ally, Bolingbroke (*q.v.*), now coveting his position, undermined his influence as Harley had undermined that of Godolphin, and procured his dismissal. He was later impeached by his enemies, but was acquitted, and lived in retirement until his death.

Haymarket Square: the site of one of the principal London theatres, thence called "The Haymarket." (*See* map, p. 124.)

Herculaneum: a town at the foot of Vesuvius, buried by an eruption in the year 79 A.D. Its position was discovered in 1706, but its excavation was not begun until 1738.

Herder, J. (1744–1803), was a philosopher, a theologian, and a literary critic, while in scientific speculation he was far in advance of his contemporaries. He learned much from Kant, and imparted much to Goethe, the two greatest thinkers of modern Germany.

Herodotus (fifth century B.C.): author of a *History of Greece* in nine books, covering the period from 700–479 B.C. It is of the greatest importance to students of Ancient History, although of course Herodotus had no conception of the necessity of sifting and verifying alleged historical facts.

Hill, Aaron (1685–1749): a lesser poet and miscellaneous writer. He was manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and composed several dramas. He was attacked by Pope in the *Dunciad*, but in so veiled a manner that Pope was able, later, to deny that Hill was the person referred to.

Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679): author of works which profoundly affected the thought of his time. His chief work, *Leviathan*, expounded his philosophy of the origin and sanctions of government. He claimed that government rests on the *necessity* of restraining the masses, and the *power* of a few men to control the rest.

Holland House: a mansion in Kensington, northwest of the old City of London, built in 1607 by Sir Walter Cope. His daughter married Henry Rich (son of the Earl of Warwick), who was later

created first Earl of Holland. As the mansion passed to the Holland branch of the Warwick family, the names of *Rich*, *Warwick*, and *Holland* are all associated with its history. Addison married the widow of the sixth Earl of Warwick.

Later the mansion passed by purchase and subsequent inheritance into the possession of Henry Fox (*q.v.*), in whose interest the now extinct title of Lord Holland was revived. His grandson made Holland House a social centre and a rendezvous for noted persons. Macaulay says elsewhere: "From 1799 to 1840 there was hardly in England a distinguished man in politics, science, or literature who had not been a guest in Holland House."

Holy Week: the last week in Lent, often called Passion Week, as being the anniversary of the final scenes of suffering in the life of Christ. In the austerity with which it is celebrated it forms a counterpart to the week of "carnival" (*q.v.*) which precedes Lent.

Hoole, John (1727–1803), translated into English verse the two great Italian epics of the Renaissance, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

Horace (65–8 B.C.): the leading lyric poet of the Augustan age of Latin literature. His *Odes*, *Epodes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* have always been the model and the despair of modern poets.

Hough, John (1651–1743), was elected President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1687, by the Fellows, but was arbitrarily removed by James II. He was reinstated the next year, and held the position until 1690, when he was made Bishop of Oxford.

Hume, David (1711–1776), philosopher and historian, was the first writer who ever attempted to treat English history in such a way as to trace the causes that have determined its course. His *History of England*, although brilliant, is biassed by his Tory political views, and by his hostility to the Christian religion.

Hume, Joseph (1777–1855), was a parliamentary reformer, and an uncompromising antagonist of every existing type of political abuses, such as extravagant expenditures, flogging in the army, imprisonment for debt, grievous trade restrictions, etc.

Hurd, Richard, D.D. (1720–1808): a friend of Bishop Warburton (*q.v.*). Hurd, as Warburton's biographer, sustains the same relation to him that Boswell (*q.v.*) sustains to Samuel Johnson.

Infanta Catharine, the daughter of King John II. of Portugal, married to Charles Stuart (afterwards King Charles II. of England).

Inns of Court: associations of English lawyers possessing special privileges of the highest importance, among them that of admitting candidates to the practice of law. There are four Inns of Court, all taking their names from the historic buildings occupied by them, namely, "Lincoln's Inn," "The Inner Temple," "The Middle Tem-

ple," and "Gray's Inn." The word "Templar" therefore means a lawyer who is a member of the Inner or the Middle Temple.

Ireland, Samuel William Henry (1777–1835): author of two dramas, *Vortigern* and *Henry II.*, which he claimed to have been written by Shakespeare, and to have been recently discovered among some papers bequeathed by that author to his friend, "William Henrye Irelaunde."

Jack Pudding (properly written jack-pudding): a buffoon or clown.

Jenyns, Soame (1704–1787): the author of a work entitled *View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*, containing speculations in regard to the nature of the future life.

Jersey, Earl of: an extreme Tory member of the Ministry in power at the beginning of the reign of Anne; he was dismissed in 1704, when Godolphin and Marlborough began to look to the Whigs as their main supporters in their policy of continued alliance with the European powers against Louis XIV.

Jerusalem Chamber: a room in the Deanery of Westminster Abbey, so named because it was decorated with a view of Jerusalem.

Johnson, Samuel (1709–1783), was a great lexicographer, essayist, critic, and conversationalist, but not a great dramatist. A defect common to all his writings, due in part to his vast classical erudition, is his preference for polysyllabic words, and for the stately periodic sentences imitated from Latin models.

His *Lives of the Poets* contain biographical and critical studies of English poets from Cowley to Gray, including Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, and Swift. His tragedy of *Irene* (1749), although it had the support of Garrick, was withdrawn from the stage after a run of only nine days. His story of *Rasselas*, written under stress of poverty, to obtain funds for the burial of his mother, relates how Prince Rasselas was confined in a valley in Abyssinia, called "The Happy Valley," in order to remove him from any possible share in the miseries that swarm in the world. The "ingenious philosopher" referred to by Macaulay in ¶ 26 proposed to aid Rasselas to escape by means of a flying machine, but his first attempts to demonstrate the art of flying proved a disastrous failure.

Jonson, Ben (1573–1637), was, next to Shakespeare, the greatest dramatist of the age of Elizabeth and James I. His dramas depict striking types of character, *The Alchemist*, *Sejanus*, *Catiline*.

Juvenal (55?–135? A.D.): author of sixteen Latin *Satires*, which depict for us the manners and morals of the early Roman Empire. They have been the subject of translation and imitation by many English authors, including Dryden and Johnson.

Kensington: the district of London west of the old City and north of Westminster.

Kneller, Sir Godfrey (1648–1723), court painter to Charles II., was

knighted by William III. He painted the portraits of nine sovereigns, including all the English sovereigns from Charles II. to George I., and those of many members of the Kit Cat Club (*q.v.*). He was the subject of an adulatory poem by Addison.

Leicester Square: the site of the house occupied by Sir Joshua Reynolds from 1760 to the end of his life in 1792. (*See* map, p. 124.)

Lessing (1729–1781), a German critic and dramatist, first won fame by his *Vindications*, critical writings intended to stimulate appreciation of unjustly maligned or forgotten writers. He aided in developing a new critical journal, the *Litteraturbriefe*, in which he aims to lead a revolt against conventional standards of taste in literature.

Ligurian Coast: the coast of Genoa.

Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.): the author of a *History of Rome*, distinguished by its vivid, graphic treatment of historical episodes, such as that of Hannibal's invasion of Italy (in Bk. XXI).

Lucan (39–65 A.D.): the nephew of Seneca and of "Gallio" (*q.v.*); and the author of *Pharsalia*, or *De Bello Civile*, an epic poem treating of the struggle between Pompey and Julius Cæsar.

Lucian (120–200 A.D): a Greek satirical writer. His *Auction of Lives* is a lively skit on philosophy, depicting an attempt of Zeus to sell representative philosophers of different sects at auction.

Lucretius (95–51 B.C.): the author of a Latin poem in six books entitled *De Rerum Naturæ*, containing religious and scientific speculations in regard to the origin and nature of the universe, which were far in advance of the common belief of his time.

Lycia: a province in the southwestern part of Asia Minor. Its warriors, led by Sarpedon, aided the Trojans during the Siege of Troy.

Lycidas; a name meaning "white" or "pure-souled," applied by Milton to his friend Edward King in his elegy on the latter's death by drowning in the Irish Sea.

Machiavelli (1469–1527): an Italian statesman, author of a treatise called the *Prince*, on statecraft as it was conceived in the Middle Ages. The method advocated in this famous treatise is so repugnant to modern ethical ideas, that the author's name has become a synonym for an unscrupulous and crafty politician.

Mackintosh, Sir James (1765–1832): author of a *History of the Revolution of 1688*.

Macready, William Charles (1793–1873): an illustrious actor of Shakespearean characters, at one time manager of Drury Lane Theatre.

Malbranche, Nicolas (1638–1715): a French philosopher, author of *De la Recherche de la Verité*. He taught that "Human souls exist in God as their bodies exist in space," that "God is the cause of all changes that take place in the universe," and that "We see all things in God." Thus his mysticism is far removed from the rationalism that characterizes the philosophy of Hobbes and Hume.

Malmsbury: a parliamentary borough in Northern Wiltshire. When Addison represented this borough he was living in London.

Mamelukes: Egyptian cavalry forces subject to the Sultan of Turkey, that fought under Mourad Bey, the Turkish commander against Napoleon Bonaparte in his Egyptian campaign of 1798.

Manchester, Charles Montague, Earl and Duke of (died, 1722): a Whig statesman, prominent as a diplomatist in the embassies of Venice, Paris, and Vienna. In 1719 he was created Duke of Manchester for his services in securing the Hanoverian succession.

Manilius: a poet of the Augustan age, author of the *Astronomicon*.

Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of (1650–1722): began his career as a page in the service of James, Duke of York. By his pleasing personality and his mental ability, unhampered by any high ethical standard, he rose to high positions of honor and trust in the army and the state. He was raised to the peerage by James (now King James II.), and was appointed General of the forces detailed to defend the king against William of Orange in 1688. Churchill, however, abandoned the cause of the Stuarts, and was rewarded by William with the title of Earl of Marlborough.

Churchill had married a court beauty named Sarah Jennings, an intimate friend of James's daughter Anne. On the accession of Anne to the throne the Earl and his Lady became virtual rulers of the kingdom. At home Marlborough dictated the policy of his son-in-law, Godolphin, the ostensible Prime Minister; abroad, as commander-in-chief of the English forces in the War of the Spanish Succession, he was equally supreme: while Lady Marlborough, as Mistress of the Robes, Keeper of the Privy Purse, and confidential adviser of the Queen, was the dominant power at Court.

Marlborough's brilliant and successful campaigns on the Danube and in Flanders, marked by the victories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, crushed the French defence, ultimately forcing the Peace of Utrecht, and won for him the highest honor, the title of Duke of Marlborough. But the Queen had meanwhile grown weary of being dominated by Sarah Jennings, whose most prominent traits were her imperious disposition and her pugnacity. Through the intrigues of Harley (*q.v.*) the Tories once more forced their way into power. Godolphin and Sunderland were dismissed in 1712 (*see* ¶ 91) and the enemies of Marlborough secured his impeachment on the charge of having embezzled funds entrusted to him for the prosecution of the war. He was in disgrace until the accession of George I., when he was again made commander-in-chief of the army. He died of apoplexy in 1722.

Marli: a village five miles north of Versailles.

Martial (last of the first century): a brilliant Latin epigrammatist and

lyric poet, author of more than a thousand witty and polished epigrams on manners, persons, and incidents of his time.

Marvel, Andrew (1621–1678), was an intimate friend of Milton, and served as his assistant in the Latin Secretaryship. He wrote some noble and beautiful poems, notably his *Horatian Ode* on Cromwell's return from Ireland.

Massillon (1663–1742): a French ecclesiastic, preacher to Louis XV., distinguished for the eloquence and persuasive force of his sermons.

Medici, Lorenzo di (1448–1492): a Florentine banker, and virtual ruler of Tuscany, patron of art, letters, and sciences.

Menander (342–290 B.C.): the author of one hundred comedies, of which only fragments remain. External evidences indicate that his works, like Addison's, appealed to a cultivated sense of humor.

Mephistophiles: the leading character in Goethe's *Faust* (*q.v.*).

Metamorphoses: the chief poetical work of the Latin poet, Publius Ovidius Naso ("Ovid," B.C. 43 – A.D. 18). It consists of a collection of mythological fables in fifteen books, narrating various transformations undergone by the world and its inhabitants through the intervention of the gods.

Milan, the second in size of Italian cities, contains the third largest cathedral in the world, a Gothic building constructed entirely of marble, and covered with the most elaborate ornamentation. Its exterior is adorned with six thousand statues.

Misenus: the trumpeter of the fleet of Æneas. The *Æneid*, VI., 162, describes how a Triton, jealous of his music, dragged him from a rock and plunged him to his death in the waves.

Mohocks or **Mohawks**: a club of dissolute young men, organized in London in 1711. Its members found amusement in outrages upon persons who went abroad in the streets at night. (*See* A, ¶ 147.)

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley (1690–1762): a wit, woman of letters, and society leader of the eighteenth century; friend of Addison and, until their fierce quarrel (*see* A, ¶ 142), of Pope. The lampoon referred to in the passage indicated above, charges her (under the name of Sappho) with slovenliness of dress and person.

Newdigate Prize: a prize given at Oxford University for the best original production in English verse. To win it is now esteemed a great honor, since the victor's name is enrolled with those of Heber, Faber, Arthur Stanley, Ruskin, Shairp, Matthew Arnold, etc.

Newmarket: an English town famous for its racing course, where seven important races are held annually.

Newton, Sir Isaac (1642–1727), the world's most profound and original scientific investigator, was also one of the most gifted mathematicians in an age of great mathematicians. He was Professor of Mathematics in Cambridge University, and President of the Royal Society.

North, Frederick Lord (1732–1792): the minister who, by his subservient attitude toward the narrow-minded king, George III., and by his consequent arbitrary attitude toward the American colonists, was chiefly responsible for the defection of the thirteen colonies that formed the United States.

Nottingham, Daniel Finch, 2d Earl of (1647–1730): as representative of the Tory party, he was Secretary of State under William III. in 1689, was displaced by a Whig in 1694, and having been reappointed by Anne in 1702, was again dismissed when the Whig influence began to gain the ascendency in 1704.

Oldham, John (1653–1683): a satirist contemporary with Dryden, author of four satires against the Order of Jesuits.

Orleans, Philippe, Duke of (1674–1723), was the Regent of France during the minority of King Louis XV. (1715–1723). Because of his early training in vice under the tutelage of the unscrupulous Dubois (*q.v.*), he led a life of debauchery, but was a patron of the fine arts, and a popular ruler.

Pæstum, situated about forty miles southeast of Naples, was a flourishing city in the fifth century before Christ. It contained no less than three temples, of which only ruins now remain.

Palmerston, Henry Temple, Viscount (1784–1865): a leading British statesman of this century, who exhibited preëminent abilities in the direction of the department of Foreign Affairs. He was twice made Prime Minister in 1855–1858 and in 1859–1865. At the time the *Essay on Addison* was published, 1843, Palmerston had already guided the nation through the difficulties created by revolutions in France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal.

Pantheon: a Roman temple built by the Emperor Agrippa in 27 B.C., and originally dedicated to all the gods. It was rebuilt in 610 A.D., and was converted into a Christian church. It is notable as being the only perfectly preserved ancient building in Rome.

Parnell, Thomas (1679–1717): a friend of Harley, Swift, and Pope. He assisted Pope in the translation of Homer's works, and composed the introductory memoir of Homer for the translation of the *Iliad*. His own productions include *The Hermit*, *Night*, *Piece on Death*, *The Queen's Peace* (= the Treaty of Utrecht), *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice* (from Homer), and Biblical poems.

Paul Pry: The name of the chief character in a drama written by John Poole (1792–1879), first produced at the Haymarket in 1825, and thereafter very popular. Pry is an idle, inquisitive fellow, always meddling with the affairs of other people.

Peel, Sir Robert (1788–1850): a prominent financier and statesman, twice Prime Minister of England.

Petrarch (1304–1374): an Italian poet and historian of high rank. His compositions of most abiding interest are a series of love poems

(sonnets and songs) addressed to "Laura," on whom he has conferred an immortality only less secure than that conferred by Dante upon "Beatrice" in the *Divine Comedy*.

Philips, John (1676–1708), whom his monument in Westminster Abbey calls a second Milton, composed three popular poems. *The Splendid Shilling* was an imitation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *Cider* an imitation of Virgil's *Georgics* (*q.v.*), and *Blenheim* a rival of Addison's *Campaign*.

Phillipps, Ambrose (1671–1749), was a friend of Addison and Steele. He was the author of six pastorals and several dramas, and was a contributor to the *Guardian* and the *Freethinker*.

Pickwick, Samuel: the leading character in one of Dickens's earliest and most popular novels.

Pindar, a Greek poet of the fifth century B.C. He is called the "Theban Eagle" because of the soaring imagination and spirit exhibited in his triumphal *Odes*, the only complete examples of his work extant.

Plato (427-347 B.C.): the greatest Athenian philosopher.

Plutarch (66-120): the author of a series of *Parallel Lives*, biographical sketches in Greek, treating of twenty-three Greek and twenty-three Roman public characters. These biographies, because of their historical and literary value, are highly prized by students.

Pollio (76 B.C.–4 A.D.): a versatile Roman man of letters and a patron of artists. Among his protégés were Virgil and Horace.

Polybius (204–122 B.C.): a Greek historian, who composed a history in forty books, treating of the gradual subjugation of the civilized world by Rome from 200–146 B.C. The work is characterized by fulness of research, accuracy of statement, and sound judgment.

Pompeii: a city south of Mt. Vesuvius, almost entirely buried by an eruption of ashes from that mountain in the year 79 A.D., and rediscovered and excavated by degrees during the last two centuries.

Pompignan, Franc de (1709–1784): a French philosopher who, having been elected to the French Academy, gave so much offence to the members that, with the aid of Voltaire's sarcasms, they drove him into retirement at a distance from Paris.

Pope, Alexander (1688–1744): the leading poet of the age of Queen Anne, and with Dryden the most brilliant of English satirists. His character exhibited a curious compound of the most brilliant intellectual gifts with so much vanity and ill nature as to lessen the pleasure derived from those gifts both by himself and by his readers. He was an acknowledged master of the technique of poetical composition; he composed didactic, reflective, satirical, and sportive verse that won the applause of the literary world; the translations from Homer earned him a competence, yet he was never happy, because always involved in a quarrel with erstwhile friends.

Of the works mentioned by Macaulay, the *Essay on Criticism*, written in his twentieth year, was a masterly handling of a theme (rules of poetic composition and criticism) already well treated by Horace (*q.v.*) and Boileau (*q.v.*). It is in the form of a treatise in three parts, written in the heroic couplet. The *Rape of the Lock* is described on p. 119, in the note on **81**, 11.

Posilipo: a mountain northwest of Naples, remarkable for its tunnel, 755 yards in length, which was excavated probably before the Christian era, but according to local tradition was constructed by the poet Virgil through his magic arts. A portion of it bears the name of "Virgil's Tomb."

Prior, Matthew (1664–1721): a man of humble birth, who through talent and patronage was enabled to become a diplomatist of some note. He had a share in most of the important foreign transactions of William II. and Anne; was a friend of Halifax (*q.v.*), Jersey (*q.v.*), and Harley. He was a writer of many rhymed fables, and of much society verse, all popular but ephemeral.

Prudentius (348–405): the author of some early Christian poems in the Latin language.

Puck: a character in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, who exercises his supernatural powers in making sportive mischief among the lovers and clowns of the play.

Pulteney, William, Earl of Bath (1682–1764), was originally a co-worker with Walpole (*q.v.*), but conceiving that he was ignored by the latter, he put himself at the head of a group of rebellious Whigs who called themselves "The Patriots." (*See* Int., p. xxvii.)

Rabbinical Literature was the work of Jewish expounders of the Law of Moses, and contained many mystical doctrines.

Racine, Jean (1639–1699): the greatest French tragic dramatist. During his somewhat dissipated earlier career his efforts were confined almost entirely to the dramatic treatment of historical characters (*Mithridate, Ephigénie, Phèare*). With increasing years he became more earnest, and his later subjects were taken from sacred history (*Esther, Athalie, Cantiques Spirituelles*).

Raleigh, Sir Walter (1552–1618): an English courtier, adventurer, and writer of the Elizabethan Age.

Ravenna: a city of Northeastern Italy, the scene of an apparition of a "Spectre Horseman," as described by Boccaccio.

Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1723–1792), was a celebrated portrait painter, the first president of the "Royal Academy of Painting," and the founder of the celebrated club which included Samuel Johnson and Boswell, Burke, Goldsmith, and Garrick.

Rhætian Alps: that portion of the Alpine range which separates Lombardy from Eastern Switzerland,

Richardson, Samuel (1689–1761), the first English novelist, was a journeyman printer in early life, and later a master-printer and publisher. It was only when he was fifty-one years old that he wrote *Pamela*, the first of the series of three novels that won him fame and the title of "Creator of the English Novel."

Rimini: a city of Italy on the upper Adriatic. The story of the unhappy love of Francesca de Rimini for the noble brother of her brutal husband, and of the punishment of their sin, forms the best-known single episode in Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Robertson, Rev. William (1721–1793): Royal Historiographer of Scotland; author of an able *History of Scotland*, a *History of America*, and a *History of the Reign of Charles V.*, which won warm praise from critics like Hume, Walpole, and Lord Chesterfield.

Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of (1647–1680): a witty, dissolute courtier, a favorite of King Charles II.; author of many verses, but of no poetry.

Rosicrucians: a secret society dating from the fourteenth century, whose members professed to be adepts at magic arts, and to possess the power to control the deities (sylphs, gnomes, fays) which reside in the elements (earth, air, water, fire).

Rowe, Nicholas (1674–1718): Poet Laureate to George I.; author of *Tamerlane*, *Jane Grey*, and other tragedies.

Rubicon: the stream which separated the Gallic province governed by Julius Cæsar in 49 B.C. from Roman territory. Plutarch, in his *Life of Cæsar*, and Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, mention how Cæsar hesitated on the northern bank before crossing to contest with Pompey the supremacy at Rome. Cæsar, in his autobiographical *Commentaries*, does not mention the act.

Russell, House of: a noble English family, dating from the Norman Conquest. It has given to the state many of its notable public servants. Among these are the first Duke of Bedford, Edward Russell, Admiral of the English Navy, and also

Russell, Lord John (1792–1878): the statesman who, by his bill providing for changes in boroughs to secure more equitable division of representation in England (*see* Int., p. xxviii), brought about the most notable advance of this century in English political conditions. He was Prime Minister from 1841 to 1846.

Rutulians: a people inhabiting the coast of Italy, whose defeat by Æneas upon his arrival there is described in Virgil's *Æneid*.

St. James: a palace situated on the street called Pall Mall in London, occupied by the monarchs of England since the time of Henry VIII. Hence the name "St. James's" has become a common expression for the "Court of Great Britain."

St. John: *see* Bolingbroke.

Peter's: a cathedral at Rome, the largest Christian church edifice

in the world, constructed and adorned by Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael.

Salvator Rosa (1615–1673): an Italian painter of landscapes, generally of a wild, savage type, and also of historical pictures.

Sannazaro (1458–1530): an Italian poet of the Renaissance, who owes his reputation to his Italian pastoral medley of prose and verse, called the *Arcadia*, and to some Latin lyrics.

Santa Croce: a church edifice in Florence, which contains monuments of Dante, Gallio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Alfieri, etc.

Saul: a tragedy based on Scripture history, by Alfieri (*q.v.*).

Savage, Richard (1697–1743): a dissolute and impecunious poet of small talents, a friend of Aaron Hill, of Pope, and of Samuel Johnson.

Savoy: formerly a state lying between the Rhone and the Alps, south of Switzerland. Its rulers shrewdly made use of their geographical position to increase their importance in European politics by throwing their influence on the side of France, Germany, or Spain, as their immediate interests dictated.

Scherezade: the wife of the Sultan of the Indies, who relates to him the tales called the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.

Schiller (1759–1805): a German dramatist and poet. His masterpieces, dealing mainly with historical characters, include *William Tell*, three dramas on the life of *Wallenstein*, and *Mary Stuart*.

Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832), was probably the most popular English novelist that ever lived, in point of the number of his works that reached celebrity and the extensive sales which they commanded.

Seals: to acquire validity, public documents in England must receive an impression from one of several "seals," according to their character. (The conditions hereafter explained prevailed in the seventeenth century.) The Great Seal (employed as the emblem of royalty on the Sovereign's proclamations summoning and proroguing Parliament, etc.) was always placed in charge of the Lord Chancellor, or of a special officer called the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. It could not be used on any document that had not already received the Privy Seal. Thus the Privy Seal served as a check upon the action of the Chancellor. This seal, which was in charge of the officer called the Lord Privy Seal, was also used to render valid all minor state documents, these having already been certified by minor officers with the Signet Seals.[1]

Seatonian Prize: a prize awarded annually at Cambridge University, England, for the best poem on a religious subject.

Shaw. "Lifeguardsman Shaw" was a pugilist of giant frame, who entered the army and won celebrity at the battle of Waterloo.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816): author of exceedingly

[1] The Privy Seal is now used only on minor documents, such as grants from the Crown (called "Letters Patent").

popular comedies, e.g. *The Rivals*, *The Duenna*, *The School for Scandal*.

Shrewsbury, Charles Talbot, Duke of (1660–1718), was a leading statesman during the reign of William III., Anne, and George I. He played a prominent part in securing the accession of the Hanoverians, and was made Lord High Treasurer by George I.

Sidonius Apollinaris (430–483 A.D.): a churchman, and author of pretentious Latin poems in twenty-four books.

Silius Italicus (25–101 A.D.): author of an uninspired Latin poem, *Punica*, in seventeen books, dreary and prolonged. It treats of the careers of Hannibal, Scipio, and other heroes of the Punic wars.

Smalridge, George D. (1663–1719): Bishop of Bristol, an eloquent pulpit orator.

Smollett, Tobias (1721–1771), completes, with Richardson and Fielding (*q.v.*), the trio of great novelists of the generation that saw the birth of that type of literature. His chief works are *Roderick Random* and *Humphrey Clinker*.

Somers, John, Lord Somers (1652–1716), was the leader, official or unofficial, of the Whig party during the reigns of William III. and Anne. Indeed, he was a leader in the events that gave rise to that party, for he acted as counsel for the defence in the trial of the seven bishops (*see* Int., p. xviii), and was chairman of the committee appointed to frame the immortal *Declaration of Rights* (*ibid.*). He was appointed Attorney General, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, (*see* Seals) and later Lord High Chancellor, by William III. His impeachment by his Tory enemies, in 1701, although unsuccessful, forced him thereafter to maintain a subordinate position until his death, except during the two years of Whig supremacy (1708–1710), when he was Lord President of the Council.

Somerset, Charles Seymour, Duke of (1661–1748): known as the "Proud Duke of Somerset," because of his haughty bearing and ostentatious mode of living. The Seymour family has given to England a queen and a regent of the kingdom, and its members have intermarried with many persons of the blood royal.

Somerville, William (1767–1855): author of a long poem called *The Chase*.

Sophocles (496–405 B.C.): a tragic poet of Athens, the rival of Æschylus (*q.v.*); author of *Antigone*, *Ajax*, *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and other plays, all notable for their mastery over dramatic situations, their character delineation, and their pathos.

Spence, Joseph (1699–1768): Professor of Poetry and of History in Oxford University, a friend of Pope and Walpole. At his death he left a collection of anecdotes of the celebrities that he had known.

Sporus: a name applied by Pope, in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1735), to Lord John Hervey, the husband of one of Pope's friends, whom he attacked repeatedly in his various satires.

Spring Garden: the name of a pleasure resort of the early Stuart monarchs, adjoining their palace of Whitehall, containing bathing ponds, archery butts, a pheasant yard, and a bowling green. After the Restoration this resort was abolished and the name was transferred to a new garden which was opened at Vauxhall.

Statius (45–96 A.D.): a Roman court poet, author of a tedious epic poem in twelve books, the *Thebais*, based on an episode in the history of Thebes, and also of numerous lyric poems of more merit.

Steele, Sir Richard (1672–1729), was the son of an attorney in Dublin. He was a schoolmate of Addison at the Charterhouse (*q.v.*), and later entered Christ College, Oxford, but left college after three years to enlist in the Horse Guards. He gained notice from the literary world by the publication of several dramas, was introduced into the Kit Cat Club, became an attendant of Prince George, consort of Queen Anne, and was appointed Gazetteer (*see* Gazette) by Harley in 1707. On the death of the Prince Consort, he lost his public employment, and turned to literature as a profession. In his weekly paper, the *Tatler*, published under the pretended editorship of Isaac Bickerstaff (*q.v.*), he created a new literary type, the modern essay. The *Tatler* was succeeded by the *Spectator*, and that by the *Guardian*. All these publications owe much of their success to the assistance given to Steele by Addison. The *Guardian* was followed by the *Englishman*. Steele entered Parliament in 1713, but was expelled by the Tories for alleged seditious utterances in a Whig pamphlet, the *Crisis*. He returned to political life when the Whigs regained power after Anne's death (*see* Int., p. xxiv), and also became manager of Drury Lane Theatre.

Steenkirks: lace neckcloths, arranged with studious disorder, which were worn by the London fops as an emblem of the battle of Steenkirk, in which the noblemen of the French army, surprised by the troops of William III., rushed into the fray with their dress in all stages of disarray. (*See* ¶ 3; and Int., p. xx.)

Stepney, George (1663–1707): author of a translation of Juvenal's *Satires*.

Streatham: a village about five miles southwest of London, where Samuel Johnson resided with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale for many years, and where Garrick, Reynolds, Burke, etc., were frequent visitors.

Sunderland, Charles Spencer, Third Earl of (1675–1722): was the son of the second Earl of Sunderland, a leading statesman of the Revolution, and son-in-law of the Duke of Marlborough. He was an extreme Whig, and was made Secretary of State by Anne during the period of Whig supremacy from 1706 to 1710. (*See* p. xxii.)

He returned to office with the Whigs in 1714. He became first Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then Lord Privy Seal, then Secretary of State, with Addison as his colleague, and finally Lord High Treasurer and Prime Minister in 1718.

Surface, Joseph: a character in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, who by the profession of extreme virtue entirely deceived his friend, Sir Peter Teazle, in regard to his really unscrupulous character.

Swift, Jonathan, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (1667–1745), was celebrated as a churchman, politician, and man of letters. His great genius was employed chiefly in a battle against the hard conditions of his life, against the dishonesty and selfishness of the society amid which he moved, and against the political opponents that he hated. He won recognition with his *Battle of the Books* (a satire on the controversy over the *Epistles of Phalaris; see* Boyle, Charles), by his *Tale of a Tub* (a satire on the controversies of religious sects), and by his practical jest in the Bickerstaff predictions on Partridge, the almanac maker. (*See* Bickerstaff.)

He became an intimate friend of Harley, and placed all his literary powers at the disposal of the Tories after their accession to power in 1710. (*See* p. xxiii.) In their service he edited the *Examiner*, published numerous partisan pamphlets, and undoubtedly contributed much to undermine Marlborough's popularity and weaken the war sentiment in England. His only reward was that he was given a poor ecclesiastical office in Dublin, far removed from all the intellectual companionships in London that he esteemed the "ornament of life." In Ireland, as in England, he devoted his energies to the righting of public wrongs, and here, too, he composed that greatest of satires, *Gulliver's Travels*, in which he attacks the greatest and the meanest vices of mankind in a spirit of bitter indignation at the degradation which they disclose in mankind.

In this romance an Englishman named Lemuel Gulliver visits many strange regions, among them the flying island of Laputa, a country inhabited by a race of philosophers. The natives are so strongly inclined to reflection that they would be wholly oblivious to the outer world were it not for attendants who recall their wandering thoughts by flapping their faces with an inflated bladder.

It is evident from the above that Swift's habitual temper was a scornful one. He was never married, and seems really to have loved but one woman, his pupil, Hester Johnson, to whom he wrote a series of letters known as the *Journal to Stella*, containing a minute account of his life in London from 1710–1713. These letters betray the warmest affection, but for reasons at which the world can only guess, Swift never married Stella. Thus, with his social instincts ungratified, his ambitions thwarted, his affections starved, he lived in constantly failing health for thirty years, until insanity clouded his

brain, and a lethargy which had for two years held his body inactive finally culminated in death.

Talbot, House of: a noble and renowned English family, dating from the time of William the Conqueror. It has given to England a series of twenty Dukes of Shrewsbury, many of them conspicuous for services tendered to the state. (*See* Shrewsbury.)

Tallard: the Marshal of France who commanded the French forces at the battle of Blenheim.

Tangier, the chief seaport of Morocco, was a colonial possession of Portugal until 1662, when it was transferred to Charles II. as a part of the marriage portion of his bride, Catharine of Braganza.

Tasso, Bernado (1493–1569), father of the illustrious poet Torquato Tasso (*see* below), was the author of several bombastic, pretentious, extravagant poems, both lyric and epic.

Tasso, Torquato (1544–1595): the third in the trio of Italian epic poets of the first rank. (Dante, fourteenth century; Ariosto, fifteenth century; Tasso, sixteenth century.) His most celebrated works are the pastoral poem of *Aminta*, and the epic *Jerusalem Delivered*. The latter treats of the victories that marked the "First Crusade for the Holy Sepulchre." It was criticised as exhibiting too little historical accuracy and too little regard for the conventional rules of epic composition, and as dwelling too much upon profane matters, to the ignoring of the religious side of the crusade. Tasso therefore recast it as *Jerusalem Captured*.

Temple, Sir William (1628–1699), was early distinguished as a diplomatist and an essayist. In his mastery of style he was a forerunner of Addison, being, according to Johnson, the first writer to give cadence to English prose. (*See* Macaulay's *Essay on Sir William Temple*.) One of his essays (*On Ancient and Modern Learning*), by the attention it called to the Letters of Phalaris, may be said to have occasioned the controversy between Bentley and Boyle (*q.v.*).

Terence (193–159 B.C.), was one of the chief Latin comic dramatists, an imitator of Menander (*q.v.*), and a capital delineator of the idiosyncrasies of human nature.

Theocritus (third century B.C.), by the production of his *Idylls* (*i.e. Rural Scenes*), became the creator of the type of pastoral poetry.

Theobald's: the country seat of Lord Burleigh, the leading minister of Queen Elizabeth, situated thirteen miles north of London.

Thrale, Mrs. (1741–1821), was the wife of Henry Thrale, a brewer, and an intimate friend of Samuel Johnson. At their home at Streatham Place (*q.v.*) he lived for sixteen years, during which Mrs. Thrale's softening influence constantly modified for the better his rather rough and crude nature, while her vivacity cheered him in his periods of gloom. After her husband's death and her marriage to a musician named Piozzi, her intimacy with Johnson ceased.

"**Thundering Legion**": this was the twelfth legion of the army of Marcus Aurelius in his campaign against the barbarous tribes about the Danube in 174 A.D. Eusebius relates that this legion, in a battle against the Quadi, was saved from destruction by a thunder storm sent by God in direct answer to prayer, which checked the onslaughts of the heathen.

Tickell, Thomas (1686–1740): a poet of indifferent abilities, known chiefly because of his friendship with Addison. His translation of the first book of *Iliad* was the occasion of Pope's famous outburst of spleen against Addison. (*See Essay on Addison*, ¶ 133 to 136.)

Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1630–1694): the best preacher of his age, and a man of remarkable saintliness of character.

Townshend, Charles (1674–1738), a prominent English statesman, was a follower of Lord Somers (*q.v.*) in political matters. He held minor offices while the Whigs were in power during the reign of Anne, and shared their downfall in 1712, returning to power with them under the Hanoverians. He was the first Secretary of State under George I., but was dismissed in 1716, when Addison superseded him. (*See* Int., p. xxv.) After another period of power (1721–1730) he retired to private life, leaving to his brother-in-law, Walpole, the leadership of the Whig party.

Universities: the great English universities are composed of a number of **colleges**, each of which constitutes a separately endowed and self-governed corporation. A student who is entered at one of the colleges becomes thereby a member of the university. The colleges exist for the purpose of giving instruction and furnishing lodgings and board to students, while the university has the sole power of granting degrees. The different colleges acquire a reputation for one special line of work, as Magdalene for Latin.

A college corporation consists of a president, a group of **fellows** (or associated members), and a group of scholars. The fellows form a board of government and instruction, having power to elect a president and to fill vacancies in their own number by electing persons of marked ability and scholarly attainments who have received the degree of Master of Arts. The **scholars** are persons who have not yet attained to that degree, but are supposed to be in line of advancement to fellowships. Both fellows and scholars draw from the college revenues a fixed annual stipend for their support, and the endowments were originally made with the intention of providing education and support for students who were to enter the service of the church, or to become members of the teaching staff of the college. Students who lived at their own expense rather than at that of the college were called "Gentlemen Commoners." At Magdalene College provision was originally made for a number of **demi-scholars**, who were to bear *half* the cost of

their board, but later the name **Demies** came to be applied to the entire body of scholars.

Valerius Flaccus: a mediocre Roman poet of the first century A.D., author of an epic poem called the *Argonautica*.

Vanbrugh, Sir John (1666–1726): a writer of brilliant but coarse plays.

Vatican: the residence of the Pope, at Rome, and the largest palace in the world. It is an enormous building, containing libraries, picture galleries, museums of antiquities and of sculpture. The latter contain among other noted pieces of sculpture, the *Apollo Belvidere* and the *Antinous*, probably the most beautiful statues in the world.

Versailles: The town of Versailles, eleven miles southwest of Paris, contains the palace built by King Louis XIV., at a cost of fifty million dollars. During his reign and that of his dissolute successor, Louis XV., it was the usual residence of the court.

Vico (1668–1744): an Italian philosopher and teacher. In 1697 he became Professor of Rhetoric at Naples, and later was made Court Historian. He was the first distinctly philosophical historian.

Vida (1485–1566): an Italian ecclesiastic, and author of many Latin poems characterized by grace and smoothness of movement.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.): the greatest Latin poet; author of the *Æneid*, one of the few epic poems of the first rank. The reading of this and of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* has always formed part of the training of English students of the classics.

Voltaire (1694–1778), historian, philosopher, dramatist, essayist, was the most brilliant of all French men of letters. Living in a time of great corruption in Church and State, he devoted much of his energy to satires, casting ridicule and odium upon all classes and conditions that fell under his disapproval.

Walcheren: an island at the mouth of the Scheldt. In 1809 a British fleet, bearing 41,000 soldiers, was despatched to capture the fortified town of Antwerp on the Scheldt, held by 2,000 of Napoleon's soldiers. But the delay of the British commander permitted the garrison in Antwerp to be reënforced, and he was ultimately compelled to abandon the project, leaving 15,000 men to garrison Walcheren. After one-half of these had perished as a result of the unhealthful climate, the rest were also withdrawn, and the affair constitutes a fiasco second to none in military annals.

Walpole, Horace (1717–1797), son of Robert Walpole (*q.v.*), not only was the author of many light essays, novels, and poems, but was also an assiduous writer of letters, of which he left over 2500.

Walpole, Robert, Lord Orford (1676–1745), was the greatest Whig statesman of his time. He was Secretary, first of War, and then of the Navy, under Anne, but was disgraced by the triumphant Tories in 1712. His power under the Hanoverian monarchs, at first weak,

rapidly approached absolutism, although he had such antagonists as Bolingbroke and Swift to combat. He was at various times a Privy Councillor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Paymaster General, and Lord Treasurer. Finding his influence waning as Pitt forced himself into notice, Walpole resigned his offices in 1742, accepted a peerage, and retired to private life.

Walsh, William (1663–1709): an English political worker and writer of amatory verse; a friend of Dryden and a patron of Pope.

Warburton, William, Bishop of Gloucester (1698–1779): an English clergyman celebrated for his friendship with Pope (who made him his literary executor), and for his absurd pretensions to erudition and profound philosophy in his published works. His works were published by his ardent admirer, Hurd, Bishop of Worcester.

Warwick: The modern earldom of Warwick was originally held by many families of note in England, including the Beauchamps, Nevilles, Plantagenets, Dudleys, Riches, and Brookes.

Westminster Abbey (church) was founded by King Edward the Confessor, "St. Edward," in 1269, and enlarged by successive monarchs. It is the burial place of thirteen kings (including the Stuarts, the later Plantagenets, the first Tudor), and of many poets, scholars, and statesmen. The lady chapel, built in honor of King Henry VII. by his son Henry VIII., is perhaps the most ornate apartment in the cathedral.

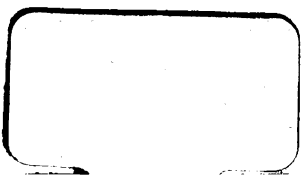
Westmoreland, Lord (1759–1841), an extreme Tory, was a member of Pitt's Tory cabinet from 1804 to 1827. By that year the growing Whig sentiment had made his retention in office impossible.

Wharton, Thomas, Marquis of (1640–1714), was a leading Whig statesman of the Revolution, a co-worker with Somers, Halifax, and Sunderland. Macaulay's strictures upon his personal character are unwarrantably severe. His services to the state were not small, and his patronage of Addison deserves commendation.

White Staff: the symbol of the office of Lord High Treasurer.

Wieland (1733–1813): a German writer of religious poetry, of romances, and of miscellaneous works, all characterized by elegance and beauty of treatment.

Wycherley, William (1640–1715): one of the most brilliant and most corrupt dramatists of the Restoration.

Young, Edward (1681-1765), author of the celebrated didactic poem, *Night Thoughts*, produced also many other pretentious compositions, all marred by pomposity and grandiloquence.

Yucatan, the peninsula of Yucatan, discovered in 1517, contains many ruins of prehistoric cities, including temples constructed on such a grand scale that they were for many years supposed to prove that an elaborate civilization formerly must have prevailed there. They are now held to be the ruins of Indian villages.